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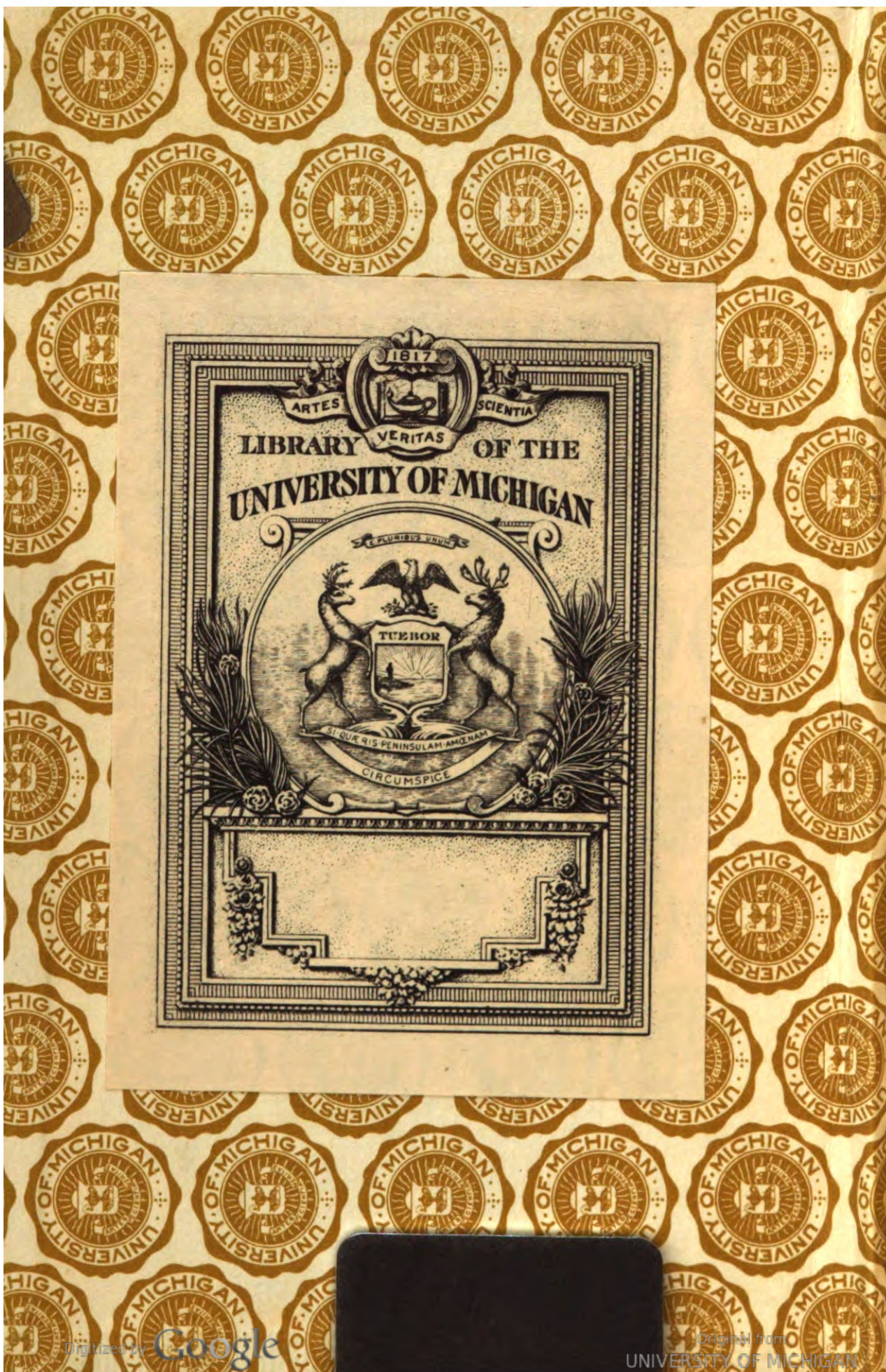
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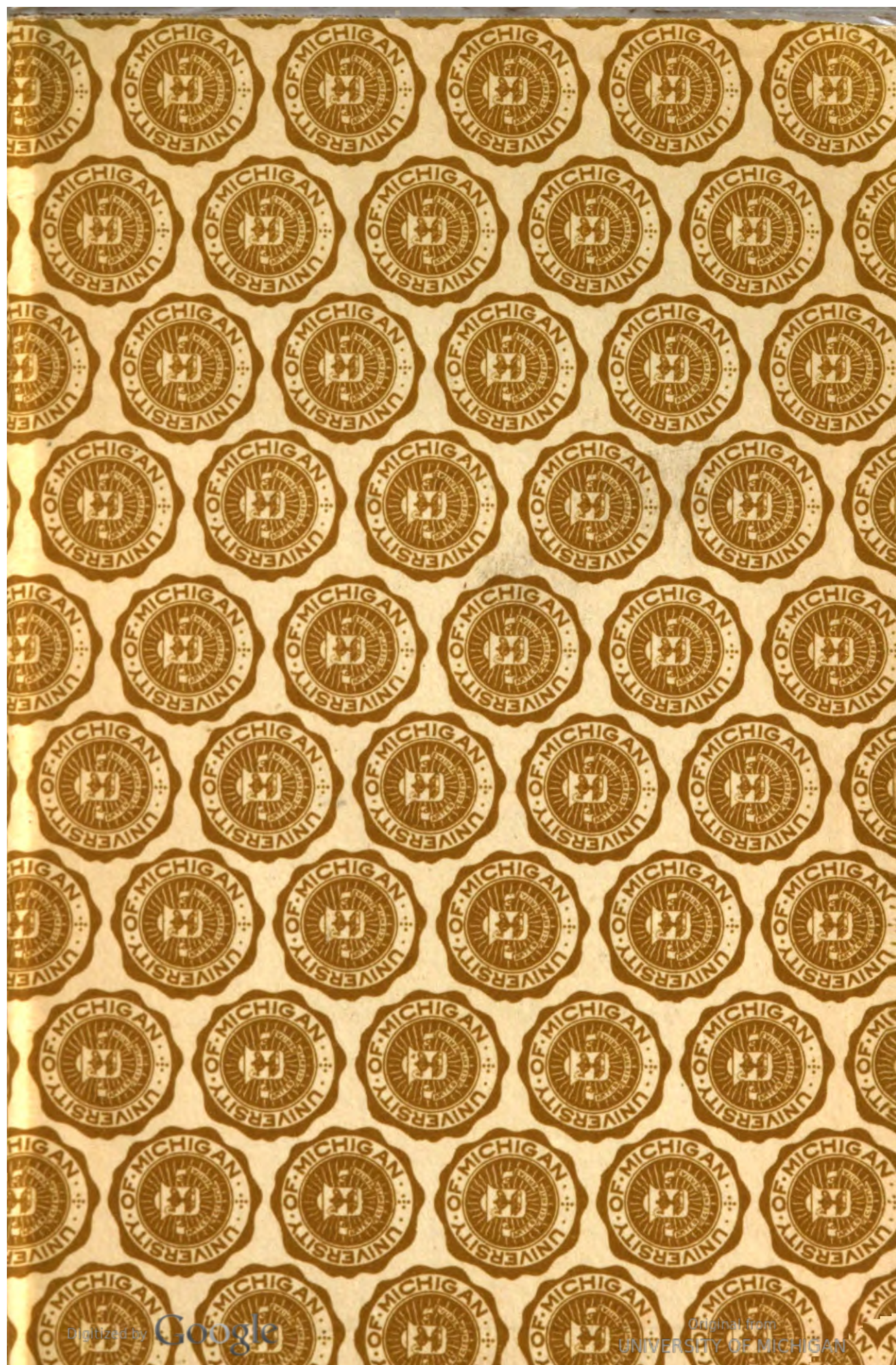
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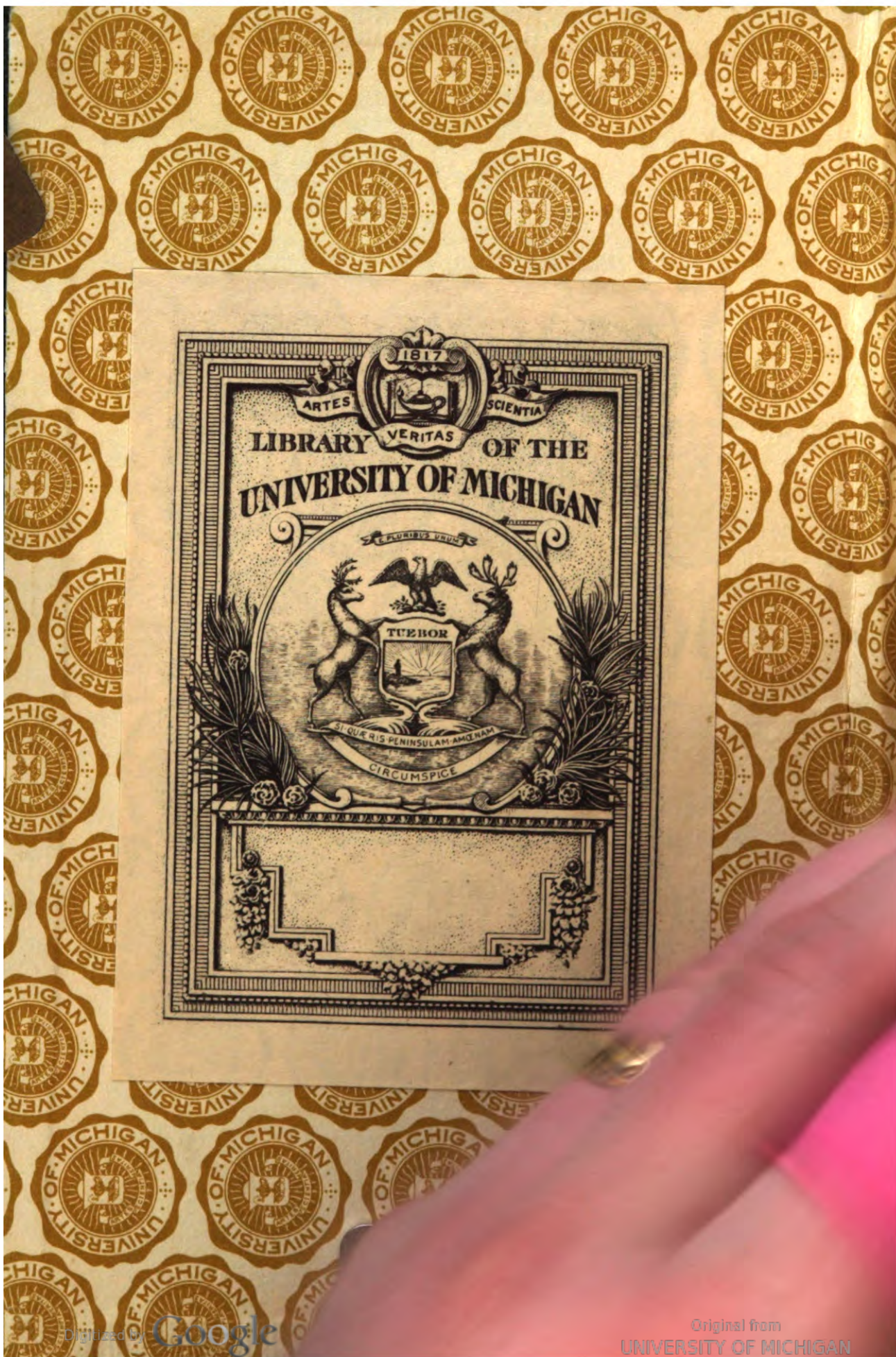
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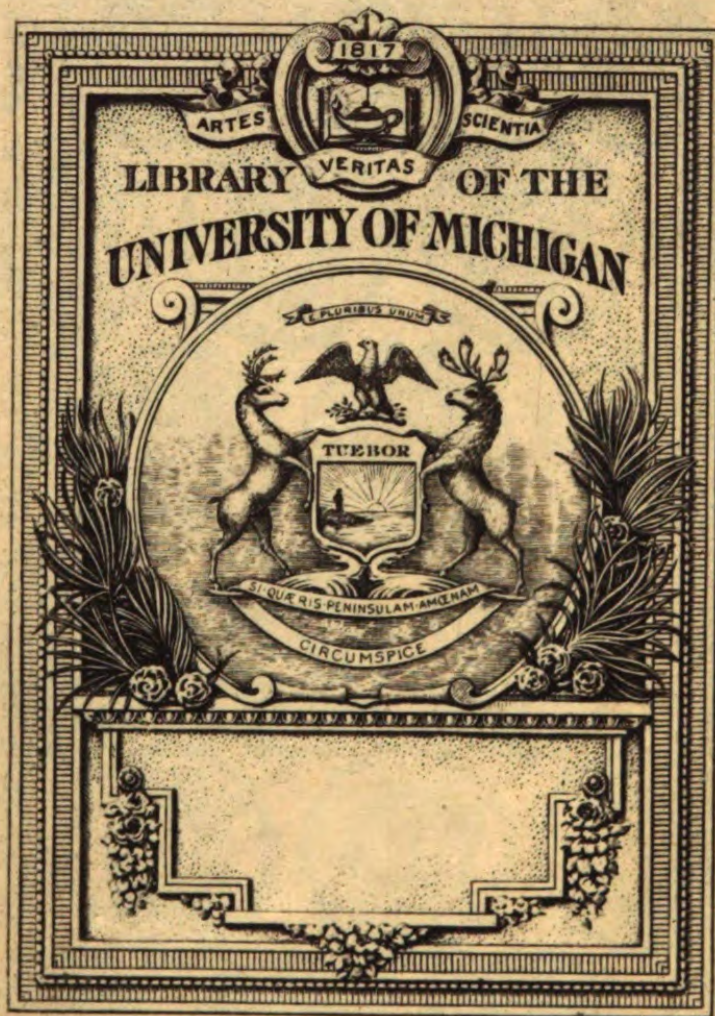
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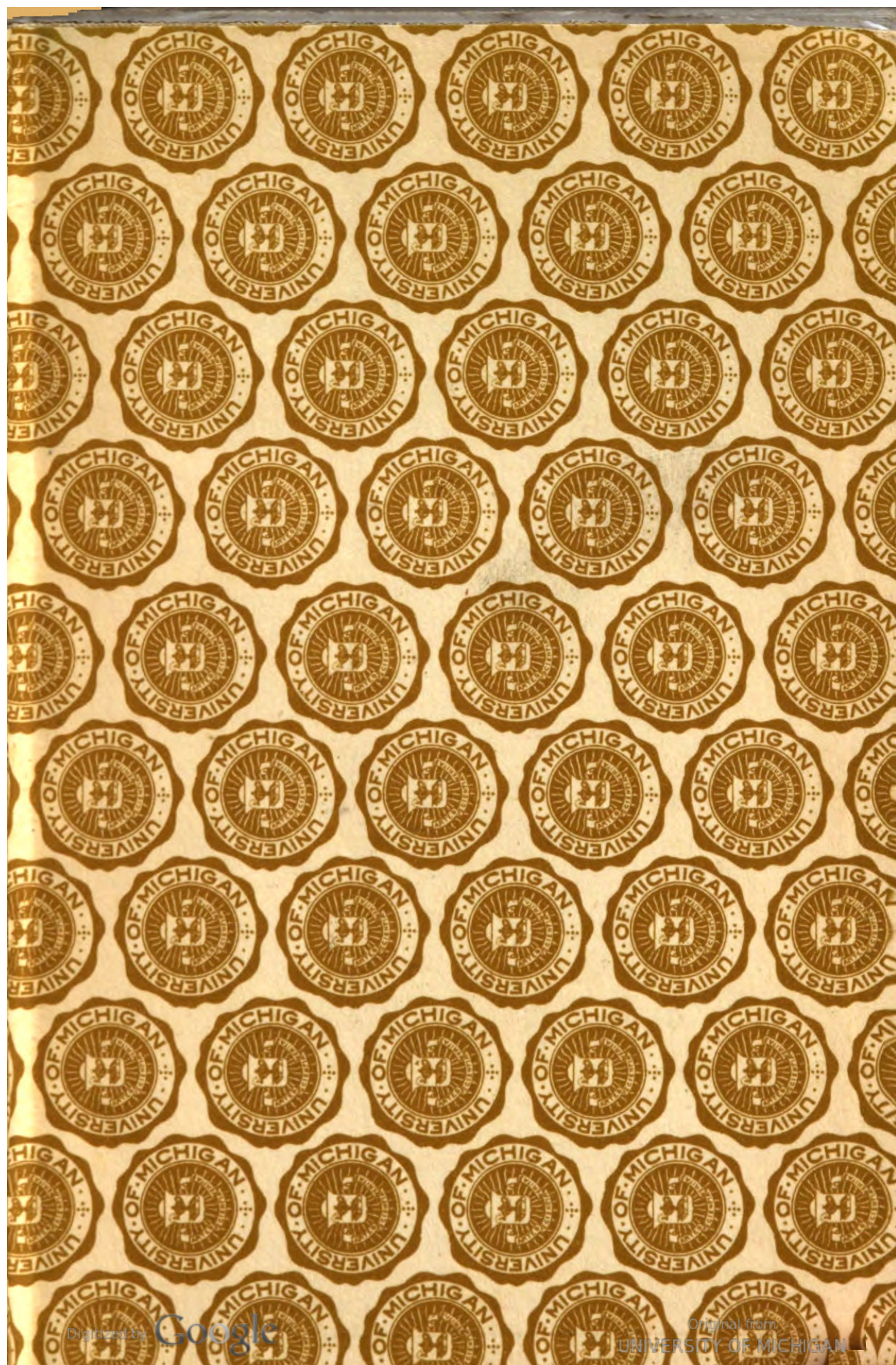












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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 16



THE COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

By HOWLAND WOOD

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1922

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The American Numismatic Society. Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Contemporary Medals. March, 1910. Revised edition. New York. 1911. xxxvi, 412 pages, 512 illustrations. \$10.00.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS
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Panama-Pacific Exposition
Fifty-dollar Gold Pieces



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THE COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
HOWLAND WOOD



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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<p><i>Revised 1930</i> <i>Am. Numismatic Soc.</i> <i>2-17-30</i> <i>212x5</i></p>	<p>I</p>
<p>THE COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES</p> <p>By HOWLAND WOOD</p> <p>Coins commemorative of special events date from ancient times as attested by the many striking examples in the Roman series. It was but natural that countries should desire to perpetuate victories, anniversaries and other happenings of note in a form that was easily scattered broadcast. Consequently these coins are often more elaborate than the regular issues in subject matter as well as being larger in size.</p> <p>Since the XVth Century, with the advent of the larger size coinage, there has been a revival of those special and commemorative issues which had lapsed during the decadence of coinage arts in the early Mediæval period. This revival took place in certain countries only,</p>	
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	<p>but most notably in Germany. With a few exceptions these pieces were put into circulation in the same manner as the regular coinage, but for a limited time and often in a limited territory. Some were made as souvenirs purely, and some as presentation pieces.</p> <p>It is our purpose, however, to treat only of the commemorative and souvenir coins issued by the United States. The general public, though never wholly conversant with them, has become more familiar with these special issues on account of the number of commemorative half-dollars issued in the past few years. These souvenir coins are not as well known as they should be because they were issued in limited quantities and sold at an enhanced price. In consequence, they did not pass into circulation.</p> <p>For this reason our commemorative coins do not fall into the same category as those of other nations. They are really souvenirs, and are to be considered as mementoes and keepsakes. Again, they were placed before the public by</p>
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private enterprises, the Government having nothing to do with them except to make and to legalize them by Acts of Congress.

Our first commemorative or souvenir coin was issued in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. Two different pieces were issued in this connection—the Columbian half-dollar and the Isabella quarter.

These coins were the forerunners of other pieces issued later in connection with other events in our history. The precedent, good or bad, of charging at least double their face value was instituted with the first commemorative coinage. This policy has brought considerable revenue to the enterprises connected with their issues, and has also been an economical reason for the Government's making the necessary appropriations, but the people in the end pay the bill. This procedure of charging a premium has been the subject of much

comment by the press, numismatic societies and collectors, especially at the time of the Columbian issues. Many caustic remarks appeared in the papers. The Exposition management was blamed for resorting to such expedients to obtain money. One sarcastic suggestion was that they go a step further and make the pieces of base metal. Criticisms were offered as to whether the Government, even indirectly, should be a party to a scheme for making a profit by selling to the people the work of their servants.

In defense of the decision made at the time—one which has formed a precedent ever since, it may be said that without the incentive of added revenue this country would not have had the number of special issues it now has. The variety of our coinage would not be what it is and the interest in collecting coins would not have been so great. It is noteworthy that every issue of commemorative coins has made a number of new collectors.

By some it has been said that the Government should have issued these coins,

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and put them in circulation during the period of the event commemorated so that everybody could see and use them. The Post Office Department has done this on many occasions with special issues of stamps. With coins, however, it is extremely doubtful if the desired purpose of popularizing the special issue would have been accomplished. The coins would have been hoarded, and later, coming out at infrequent intervals would have caused trouble through being refused by the ignorant as well as by a younger generation unacquainted with them. This has been demonstrated by the remainder of the Columbian half-dollars that were put into circulation after the close of the World's Fair at Chicago. Many of us have experienced difficulty in trying to pass one of these coins, especially if tarnished through having been laid away.

In connection with the first commemorative issue, an interesting question arose among certain collectors. Were they, or were they not, legal coins? If

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	<p>they were, they should be included in the regular proof-sets of the year; and in that case, those pieces should be sold at the slight advance that was charged for proof-sets. The Trade Dollar, whether rightly or wrongly, had been included in the proof-sets. The Government in its own way, probably in order not to embarrass the World's Fair management by charging less than the market price for better struck and finished coins, omitted them from the proof-sets.</p>
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THE COLUMBIAN HALF-DOLLAR

The first suggestions for a commemorative coin came from the managers of the World's Fair with a proposal to the Government that a special issue amounting to \$20,000,000 in fifty-cent pieces be coined for use at the Exposition. This proposition met with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Mint. Apparently, the original intention was that they be used for admission primarily, and also as souvenirs of the Fair. The idea of selling them at twice their value was an additional consideration in view of the need for help in financing the vast undertaking of the Fair. This plan was placed before Congress and the following Act was the result:

ACT OF AUGUST 5, 1892

An act to aid in carrying out the act of Congress approved April twenty-fifth, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An act to provide for celebrating the

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four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exposition of arts, industries, manufactures, and products of the soil, mine, and sea, in the city of Chicago, in the State of Illinois," and appropriating money therefor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition, authorized by the act of Congress approved April twenty-fifth, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and ninety, to be held at the city of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, there shall be coined at the mints of the United States, silver half dollars of the legal weight and fineness, not to exceed five million pieces, to be known as the Columbian half dollar, struck in commemoration of the World's Columbian Exposition, the devices and designs upon which shall be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; and said silver coins shall be manufactured from uncurrent subsidiary silver coins now in the Treasury, and all provisions of the law relative to the coinage, legal-tender quality, and redemption of the present subsidiary silver coins shall be applicable to

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the coins issued under this act, and when so recoined there is hereby appropriated from the Treasury the said five millions of souvenir half dollars, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay the same to the World's Columbian Exposition.

A number of designs were made. At first there was some doubt as to which portrait of Columbus would be used. The reverse also was the subject of discussion. It was first given out to the press that the Administration building at the Fair would be used; other accounts stated that the reverse would depict the three vessels of Columbus.

On November 19, 1892, the first piece was struck at the Philadelphia Mint. When the coins appeared, their reception by the public—as is always the case with a new coin design, was unfavorable. The flatness of the head was much criticised. *The Philadelphia Ledger* was undecided as to whether the portrait was intended for Daniel Webster or Henry Ward Beecher. Another paper was sure it must be a portrait of the Sitting Bull.

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	<p>The reverse caused much criticism intended to be humorous, especially concerning the ship on wheels.</p> <p>1. <i>Obv.</i> Bust of Columbus, beardless, to right; above, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; below, * COLUMBIAN HALF DOLLAR * ; a small B on collar.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> A three-masted caraval with sails set, sailing to left; below, the two hemispheres dividing the date 14 — 92 ; around edge, WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION CHICAGO; below, * 1892 * .</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size, 30 mm. Silver.</p> <p>2. Same, but dated 1893.</p> <p>950,000 of these with date 1892 were struck, and 4,052,105 with date 1893, making a total of 5,002,105 pieces in all, or \$2,501,052.50 in value. The designs were by C. E. Barber, of the Philadelphia Mint.</p> <p>The first specimen struck was sold at a substantial premium. The Remington Company purchased it for \$10,000 and it</p>
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was presented to the new Columbian Museum (now the Field Museum of Natural History) in Chicago. The 400th, 1492nd and 1892nd pieces were reserved and were sold at high prices. The rest were offered to the public at one dollar each. Entirely too many of these pieces were struck, and at the close of the Exposition about 3,000,000 were still unsold—about 1,400,000 being in the Treasury at Washington, 960,000 in Chicago and 141,700 in the Philadelphia Mint. This large remainder became the subject of discussion between the Exposition managers and Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle. The Fair managers did not care to have these pieces put into circulation as this would be manifestly unfair to those who had purchased them at one dollar each. Nevertheless, they were subsequently thrown into circulation at face value. Today they are the only souvenir coins that are in any way familiar to the average person.

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	<p data-bbox="630 478 1219 562" style="text-align: center;">THE COLUMBIAN OR ISABELLA QUARTER-DOLLAR</p> <p data-bbox="561 583 1284 1010">At a suggestion made to the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives by Mrs. Potter Palmer in January, 1893, \$10,000 of the appropriation for the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition was given in the form of souvenir silver quarter-dollars under the following Act of Congress:</p> <p data-bbox="808 1031 1065 1073" style="text-align: center;">MARCH 3, 1893</p> <p data-bbox="634 1077 1206 1115" style="text-align: center;">SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION LAW</p> <p data-bbox="589 1125 1284 1623">World's Columbian Commission; . . . and ten thousand dollars of the appropriation for the Board of Lady Managers shall be paid in souvenir coins of the denomination of twenty-five cents, and for that purpose there shall be coined at the mints of the United States silver quarter dollars of the legal weight and fineness, not to exceed forty thousand pieces, the devices and designs upon which shall be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; and said silver coins shall be manufactured from uncurrent sub-</p>
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sidiary silver coins now in the Treasury; and all provisions of law relative to the coinage, legal-tender quality, and redemption of the present subsidiary silver coins shall be applicable to the coins herein authorized to be issued.

This piece is our only souvenir quarter-dollar and was sold through the Board of Lady Managers at \$1.00 each. It was about as much heralded in the press as the Columbian half-dollar, and on the whole the idea received favorable comment. The pieces were greeted with much criticism when issued, the more so when the beautiful work in design and sculpture at the Exposition itself was taken into consideration.

In April, designs were submitted by the Treasury Department to the Board of Lady Managers. Two models of the obverse were sent, one with the profile of Isabella as a young queen (which was the one selected), and the other with the facing head of the mature queen. The reverse shows the kneeling figure of a woman holding a distaff, emblematic of woman's industry. The design first

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	<p>considered was the Women's building at the Fair.</p> <p>The coinage was begun on June 13, 1893, and like the Columbian half-dollars, the first, 400th, 1492nd and 1892nd impressions were picked out, and certificates stating the facts were forwarded to Chicago. In all, 40,023 pieces were coined. It is reported that some pieces remained unsold at the close of the Exhibition. These pieces were not nearly so well known as the half-dollars.</p> <p>3. <i>Obv.</i> Crowned bust of Queen Isabella of Spain, to left; in field behind head, 1893; around edge, UNITED STATES—OF AMERICA.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> A kneeling female to left, a distaff in her left hand and a spindle in right; around edge, BOARD OF LADY MANAGERS · COLUMBIAN · QUAR. DOL. ·</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size 24 mm. Silver.</p> <p>This is the work of C. E. Barber, and is the only coin of the United States bearing the head of a sovereign.</p>
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THE LAFAYETTE DOLLAR

In 1900, there was erected during the period of the Exposition in Paris a monument to General Lafayette, the gift of the American people. About \$50,000 of the funds needed were contributed by the pennies of the school children of America. The planning, financing and erecting of this statue was undertaken by the Lafayette Memorial Commission. The statue itself was the work of Paul Bartlett.

In the early part of 1899 the Commission asked Congress to have its monument appropriation in the form of 100,000 souvenir half-dollars. This idea was soon changed to a silver dollar for a souvenir, and the Lafayette Souvenir Dollar came into being by the Act of March 3, 1899, as follows:

Lafayette Monument: For the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of a pedestal and completing in a suitable man-

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	<p>ner the work of erecting a monument in the city of Paris to General Lafayette designed by the Lafayette Memorial Commission as a feature of the participation of the United States in the Paris Exposition of nineteen hundred, the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be, and is hereby, authorized to purchase in the market twenty-five thousand dollars worth of silver bullion, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purpose herein provided for, from which there shall be coined at the mints of the United States silver dollars of legal weight and fineness to the number of fifty thousand pieces, to be known as the Lafayette dollar, struck in commemoration of the erection of a monument to General Lafayette, in the city of Paris, France, by the youth of the United States, the devices and designs upon which coins shall be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and all provisions of law relative to coinage and legal-tender quality of the present silver dollars shall be applicable to the coins issued under this act, and when so coined there is hereby appropriated from the Treasury the said fifty-thousand of souvenir dollars, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to place the same at the disposal of the Lafayette Memorial Commission, a commission organized under the direction and authority of the Commissioner-General for the United</p>
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States to the Paris Exposition of nineteen hundred.

According to the report of the Director of the Mint for 1900 the silver for this issue, consisting of 38,675,875 ounces of fine silver, was purchased in the open market for \$23,032.80. This provided for the striking of 50,000 of those coins at the Philadelphia Mint. In all, 50,026 pieces were struck.

These coins were to be sold for two dollars, and again there were comments in the papers about the ulterior motives of Congress in making the people pay.

While the designs were in progress some difficulty arose over the date. The Commissioners desired the delivery of these pieces as soon as possible in 1899, and yet have the coins bear the date 1900. It was contrary to the practice of the mint to anticipate the dating of a coin. The difficulty was happily avoided by the wording on the coin, "Erected by the youth of the United States, Paris, 1900." This date does not therefore refer to the year in which the coin was struck. The

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	<p>coinage took place on December 14, 1899, the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Washington. The first coin struck was forwarded to President McKinley, who sent it to the President of the French Republic.</p> <p>4. <i>Obv.</i> Heads of Washington and Lafayette, jugate to right; above, UNITED · STATES · OF · AMERICA; below, ★ LAFAYETTE DOLLAR ★</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> An equestrian statue of Gen. Lafayette to left, holding in his right hand a sword pointed downward. On base of statue a palm branch and the sculptor's name, BARTLETT. Around the edge, ERECTED · BY · THE · YOUTH · OF · THE · UNITED · STATES · IN · HONOR · OF · GEN · LAFAYETTE; in exergue, ★ PARIS ★ 1900 ★ .</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size 38 mm. Silver.</p> <p>The dies were cut by C. E. Barber, of the mint; the head of Washington was from the Houdin bust, and the head of Lafayette was from the "Defender of American and French Liberty" medal made by the French artist Cannois, in</p>
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1824. The statue on the reverse was taken from Bartlett's model before a number of final changes were made and differs in many respects from the statue as it now stands in Paris.

The dollar is interesting, as for the first time on a governmental coin, it portrays one of our Presidents, a precedent since followed on other souvenir coins and on the Lincoln cent.

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	<p data-bbox="613 485 1268 569">THE JEFFERSON AND McKINLEY DOLLARS</p> <p data-bbox="581 596 1300 638">LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, 1903</p> <p data-bbox="576 669 1305 1142">With the precedent set by the World's Columbian Exposition, the management of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis, 1904, requested Congress to make part of the general appropriation of \$5,000,000 into commemorative gold dollars, the issue to be limited to 250,000 pieces. The special Act of Congress dated June 28, 1902, authorizing these pieces reads as follows:</p> <p data-bbox="607 1178 1305 1598">That upon the approval of this act the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be coined at the mints of the United States two hundred and fifty thousand gold dollars of legal weight and fineness, to be known as the Louisiana Exposition gold dollar, struck in commemoration of said exposition. The exact words, devices and designs upon said gold dollars shall be determined and prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and all provisions of law relative to the coinage</p>
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and legal-tender quality of all other gold coins shall be applicable to the coin issued under and in accordance with the provisions of this act. And in payment of so much of the five million dollars appropriated by said act of March third, nineteen hundred and one, to aid in carrying forward said Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay said two hundred and fifty thousand gold dollars so coined as aforesaid to the said Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, subject to all the provisions of said act, except that payment of said gold dollars may be made at any time upon the request of said exposition company, and upon said company filing with the Secretary of the Treasury a bond in a sum sufficient to protect the Government and satisfy him as to the future performance of all the conditions under which said five million dollars so appropriated is to be paid to the said exposition company; . . .

These pieces, the first of our souvenir coins to be struck in gold, were of the value of one dollar and were sold for three dollars each. They were especially adapted for mementoes, as regular gold dollars had not been struck since 1889 and for many years had been treated more as souvenirs and keep-sakes than

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	<p>coins. There are two varieties—one with the head of Thomas Jefferson, the President, who made the Louisiana purchase from France; the other, with the head of the martyred President McKinley, who signed the bill giving the sanction of the Government to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. 125,000 of each variety were struck and deposited in the Sub-Treasury at St. Louis. The dies were engraved by Charles E. Barber and are most excellent examples of die cutting. The Jefferson portrait was taken from an old mint medal engraved by John Reich who during the Jefferson period was employed at the Mint. The McKinley portrait was taken from another medal for which the President gave special sittings.</p> <p>According to mint records, exactly 250,258 pieces were struck at the Philadelphia mint and 250 of this excess were later melted down. As on the Lafayette dollar, the date was partly an anticipated one as 75,080 pieces were struck in 1902 and the remaining 175,178 were struck</p>
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early in the year following. All, however, bear the date 1903.

This issue did not attract public attention as did the previous commemorative issues, and it is safe to say that they are unknown to most people. Only about 35,000 out of 250,000 coins were sold and the remainder were destroyed about 1914—an undeserved fate considering the general excellence of the piece.

5. *Obv.* Bust of President McKinley to left; around the edge, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Rev. In field, ONE | DOLLAR, olive branch, 1803—|—1903; around the edge, LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION; in exergue, ST LOUIS .

Edge. Reeded. Size, 14 mm. Gold.

6. Same as above but with bust of Jefferson.

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	<p>LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION DOLLARS</p> <p>The Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, was also commemorated by a souvenir gold dollar. These were sold at two dollars each, and bear the dates 1904 and 1905, respectively.</p> <p>The Act of Congress of April 12, 1904, authorizing these reads as follows:</p> <p>An Act to authorize the Government of the United States to participate in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the exploration of the Oregon country by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in the years eighteen hundred and four, eighteen hundred and five, and eighteen hundred and six, and for other purposes.</p> <p>That upon the approval of this act the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon the request of the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair Company, cause to be coined at the mints of the United States not to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand gold dollars, of legal weight and fineness, to be known as the Lewis and</p>
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Clark Exposition gold dollar, struck in commemoration of said exposition. The words, devices, and designs upon said gold dollars shall be determined and prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and all provisions of law relative to the coinage and legal-tender quality of all other gold coin shall be applicable to the coin issued under and in accordance with the provisions of this Act. That the said coins shall be disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury to the said Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair Company at par, under rules and regulations and in amounts to be prescribed by him.

Although the mint records state that 60,069 pieces were struck—25,028 dated 1904, and 35,041 dated 1905, these figures do not tell the true story. Of the 25,000 struck in 1904, 10,000 were sold and 15,003 melted down at the San Francisco mint. 10,000 pieces dated 1905 were struck at the Philadelphia mint on order from the Fair management. This mint, prior to its summer closing, struck an additional 25,000 to meet possible orders and as none of these were needed subsequently, the entire 25,000 were melted. In other words, about 10,000 of

each date were distributed, and 40,000 of the 60,000 pieces were returned to the melting pot.

The coins are unattractive and commonplace, having a portrait on each side. On account of the small size of the coin as well as the smallness of the heads, the portraits themselves are insignificant.

Almost no notice of these pieces appeared in the press at the time and only one short account of them appeared in the numismatic journals, so that they are largely unknown.

7. *Obv.* Bust of Meriwether Lewis to left; around, LEWIS-CLARK EXPOSITION PORTLAND ORE. · 1904 ·

Rev. Bust of William Clark to left; around, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; below, · ONE DOLLAR ·

Edge. Reeded. Size, 14 mm. Gold.

8. Same, but dated 1905.

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THE PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION
COINS, 1915

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915 was the occasion for a commemorative issue materially different from its predecessors. For this event fifty-dollar gold pieces were for the first time coined by the authority of the United States. The previous fifty-dollar gold pieces, more familiarly known as "slugs," struck in the "fifties" in the gold-mining days, were issued in California privately or by the Government assayers. It was therefore natural that the Exposition authorities, if they were going to issue any souvenir coins at all, should choose a piece so long associated with California.

The issue included more denominations than had been made heretofore in connection with an exposition, so that this set of coins is the most notable of our commemorative pieces.

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	<p>The Act of Congress, dated January 16, 1915, creating this special issue reads:</p> <p>AN ACT For the coinage of certain gold and silver coins in commemoration of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and for other purposes.</p> <p>Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be coined at the United States Mint at San Francisco not exceeding three thousand gold coins of the denomination of \$50 each, ten thousand gold coins of the denomination of \$2.50 each, twenty-five thousand gold coins of the denomination of \$1 each, and not exceeding two hundred thousand silver coins of the denomination of 50 cents each, all of legal weight and fineness; said coins to be struck in commemoration of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The words, devices, and designs upon said coins shall be determined and prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and all provisions of law relative to the coinage and legal tender value of all other gold and silver coins shall be applicable to the coins issued under and in accordance with the provisions of this act; and one-half of the issue of \$50 gold coins herein authorized shall be similar in shape to the octagonal \$50 gold pieces issued in California in eighteen hundred and</p>
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fifty-one; and the entire issue of said \$50, \$2.50 and \$1 coins herein authorized shall be sold and delivered by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company at par, under rules and regulations and in amounts to be prescribed by him. The coinage shall be executed as soon as may be, and the delivery of said coins to begin not later than the day of the opening of the exposition. Said 50-cent coins herein authorized shall be issued only upon the request of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company, and shall be delivered to it by the Secretary of the Treasury at par during the period when said Panama-Pacific International Exposition shall be officially open. . . .

That the 50-cent silver coins herein authorized may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, be coined or finished and issued from the machinery to be installed as a part of the exhibit of the United States mint at said exposition and for the purpose of maintaining the exhibit as an educative working exhibit at all times the coins so minted may be remelted and reminted. All of said 50-cent silver coins herein authorized not issued to and at the request of said Panama-Pacific International Exposition, whether the same are coined as a part of said working exhibit or coined at the mint in San Francisco, shall be remelted upon the official closing of said exposi-

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	<p>tion. All provisions hereof in regard to the coinage, finishing, or issue of said 50-cent silver coins from machinery installed as a part of the said exhibit shall be coined, finished, and issued under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be prepared a suitable souvenir medal (of such metal or composition of metals as he may prescribe) to be struck off by machinery in said mint exhibit. . . .</p> <p>That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to obtain suitable designs for the coins and medals herein authorized, and the sum of \$5000 or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the cost of said designs: <i>Provided</i>, That the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company shall reimburse the Treasury Department for the amount thus expended.</p> <p>The fifty-dollar gold piece or five eagles was the work of Robert Aitken. It was issued in round and octagonal form. 1510 of the former and 1509 of the latter shape were struck off, 3019 in all, during the months of June, July and August. A special hydraulic press used for striking medals at the Philadelphia</p>
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Mint was sent to San Francisco to do this work. The first coining took place before a number of notable guests on June 15, 1915, the octagonal variety only being coined. The first 29 "slugs" were struck by officials and guests, and the remainder of the first 100 pieces were struck off by the various employees of the mint. A very complete account of the ceremony is in *The Numismatist* for August, 1915.

The description of the pieces is as follows:

9. *Obv.* Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, skill, contemplation, spinning, weaving, agriculture and horticulture, facing to left and wearing a crested helmet; on the edge of the shield, · M · C · M · X · V ·; above in field, · IN GOD | WE TRUST ·; around the edge, within circle, UNITED · STATES · OF · AMERICA— · FIFTY · DOLLARS ·; outside in angles of the octagon, eight dolphins.

Rev. An owl perched on a pine branch, the pine cones and needles filling the lower part of the field; to right of owl, · E | PLURIBUS | UNUM ·;

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around, within circles, PANAMA-PA-CIFIC · EXPOSITION— · SAN FRANCISCO · ; in field to right of pine cone, mint marks, beneath pine branch R A; dolphins outside the border.

Edge. Reeded. Size 44 mm. Gold.

10. Same, but on round flan and with the dolphin omitted.

Much disappointment was felt by critics and the Exposition authorities that the two shapes of the quintuple eagle were of identical design. Disappointment was also expressed that the design did not "rise to the occasion," especially with two such promising subjects as the old gold mining days and the completion of the Panama Canal. The often-heard criticism was that the artist in working out a purely American theme had borrowed from classical symbolism, and that the only thing American about the coin was the inscription.

The quarter eagle or two-and-a-half-dollar gold piece was the work of Charles E. Barber of the mint. Miss Evelyn

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Beatrice Longman, of New York, had prepared a design for this piece, but was unable to complete her model on account of illness. This is the only commemorative coin of this denomination. Pieces to the number of 10,017 were struck in the month of June.

11. *Obv.* Columbia, with caduceus in right hand, seated facing right on a hippocampus plunging to left through the sea, typifying the use of the Panama Canal; above, PANAMA-PACIFIC · EXPOSITION; below, 1915, and mint mark s.

Rev. An American eagle to left on a classical standard inscribed E · PLURIBUS · UNUM; above, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; below, 2½—DOL ·

Edge. Reeded. Size 18 mm. Gold.

This coin, without doubt, is the most attractive of the series and although classical in subject has come in for most generous praise.

The gold dollar, the work of Charles Keck, of New York, was struck during

34	COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE
	<p>May, June and July, and 25,034 were minted. The dies for this piece were made by the Medallic Art Company, of New York.</p> <p>12. <i>Obv.</i> Head of a man wearing a peaked cap, to left, representing the laborer through whose efforts the Panama Canal became a reality. In front in two curved lines, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; below, 1915.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ONE DOLLAR encircled by two dolphins; around the edge, PANAMA · PACIFIC · EXPOSITION · —SAN FRANCISCO · ; in field, mint mark s.</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size 14½ mm. Gold.</p> <p>This design is thoroughly American and a bold piece of work.</p> <p>The only silver coin of the series was the half-dollar. This was the work of Charles E. Barber and is by no means as graceful or satisfying as his quarter eagle.</p> <p>13. <i>Obv.</i> Columbia to left, scattering flowers; behind her, a child holding</p>
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large cornucopia. In the background The Golden Gate and the setting sun; below, a wave motif separating date 1915 and S; around the edge, PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

Rev. Shield of the United States surmounted by an American Eagle; in field, an oak and an olive branch; above eagle, IN GOD | WE TRUST; around the edge, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA · HALF—DOLLAR.

Edge. Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver. 60,000 of these were struck during the month of June.

The report of the Exposition management states that 483 of the round fifty-dollar pieces were distributed, and 1,017 melted; 646 of the octagonal form were sold and 854 melted down; 6,750 quarter-eagles were distributed, and 3,250 returned to the mint. All of the 25,000 gold dollars were dispersed; and of the fifty-cent pieces, 27,000 were sold, and 32,866 were returned to the mint for remelting.

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	<p>THE McKINLEY MEMORIAL GOLD DOLLARS</p> <p>Like the Lafayette dollar, this commemorative coin was issued to help defray the cost of erecting and endowing a memorial building at Niles, Ohio, the birthplace of the martyred President William McKinley. Congress aided this undertaking only to the extent of allowing the coins to be struck and delivered to the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association to be sold at a profit. The Association paid for both the dies and the coins.</p> <p>The first project was a silver dollar, but this was later changed to a gold dollar. The Act of Congress creating this coinage, dated Feb. 23, 1916, reads as follows:</p> <p>AN ACT For the coinage of a McKinley souvenir gold dollar, in commemoration of the erection of a memorial to William McKinley, late President of the United States.</p>
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Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner the work of erecting a memorial in the city of Niles, Ohio, to William McKinley, late President of the United States of America, the Secretary of the Treasury shall be, and is hereby authorized to purchase in the market so much gold bullion as may be necessary for the purpose herein provided for, from which there shall be coined at the United States Mint, Philadelphia, standard gold dollars of the legal weight and fineness, to the number of not exceeding one hundred thousand pieces, to be known as the McKinley souvenir dollar, struck in commemoration of the erection of a memorial to William McKinley, late President of the United States of America, in the city of Niles, Ohio, his birthplace, the devices and designs upon which coins shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and all provisions of law relative to the coinage and legal-tender quality of the standard gold dollar shall be applicable to the coins issued under this act, and when so coined said souvenir dollars shall be delivered, in suitable parcels, at par, and without cost to the United States, to the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association and the dies shall be destroyed.

Approved February 23, 1916.

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

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	<p>Although the bill called for 100,000 pieces but 30,000 pieces were struck. They bear the dates 1916 and 1917 respectively. 20,026 were struck dated 1916, and 10,014 dated 1917. The obverse was made by Charles E. Barber, and the reverse by George T. Morgan, the engravers at the Mint. The portrait of McKinley can in no way compare with the portrait on the Louisiana Purchase dollar. These coins were sold at \$3.00 each, though the price at first contemplated was \$2.00. About 10,023 of these pieces were returned to the mint to be melted down.</p> <p>14. <i>Obv.</i> Head of McKinley to left; around the edge, UNITED · STATES · OF · AMERICA— · MCKINLEY · DOLLAR ·</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Façade of the McKinley Memorial Building; above, MCKINLEY BIRTHPLACE NILES OHIO; below, 1916 MEMORIAL.</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size 14½ mm. Gold.</p> <p>15. Same but dated 1917.</p>
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ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL HALF-DOLLAR

On December 3, 1818, the State of Illinois was admitted to the Union and the centenary of this event was celebrated throughout the State. A commemorative half-dollar was struck for the occasion, the first souvenir piece for an event of this kind.

The Act of Congress authorizing this coinage, approved June 1, 1918, reads as follows:

AN ACT To authorize the coinage of fifty-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, as soon as practicable, and in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union as a State, there shall be coined at the mints of the United States, silver fifty-cent pieces to the number of one hundred thousand, such fifty-

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cent pieces to be of the standard troy weight, composition, diameter, device and design, as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and said fifty-cent pieces shall be legal tender in any payment to the amount of their face value.

Sec. 2. That all laws now in force relating to the subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coinage or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material, and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement or counterfeiting, for security of the coin, or for any other purpose, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, shall so far be applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized. *Provided*, That the Government shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparations for this coinage.

This coin is excellent in execution and design, and has been generally praised. It was designed by George T. Morgan of the Mint. The head of Lincoln was taken from the heroic statue by Andrew O'Connor, unveiled at Springfield, Ill., in August, 1918. The reverse is an adapta-

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tion of the Seal of the State of Illinois. 100,058 of these pieces were struck at the mint in August, 1918, and were placed on the market in Illinois at one dollar apiece. None of these half-dollars have been returned to the mint for redemption, though some still remain unsold.

16. *Obv.* Bust of Lincoln to right; around the edge, CENTENNIAL · OF · THE · STATE · OF · ILLINOIS; below, 1918; in field behind head, IN | GOD | WE | TRUST; in front, LIBERTY.

Rev. Eagle to left, with upraised wings, standing partly on a rock and partly on the United States Shield; in the beak of the eagle is a ribbon with the motto, STATE SOVEREIGNTY NATIONAL UNION; in the field, a rising sun and E | PLURIBUS | UNUM; around the edge, UNITED · STATES · OF · AMERICA; below, · HALF DOLLAR ·

Edge. Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver.

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	<p>THE MAINE CENTENNIAL HALF-DOLLAR</p> <p>On the centenary of the admission of the State of Maine to the Union in 1920, the Governor and Council of the State requested the Government to issue a commemorative half-dollar. The authorization for this piece was provided by Act of Congress approved May 10, 1920, as follows:</p> <p>AN ACT To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Maine into the Union.</p> <p>Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, as soon as practicable and in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Maine into the Union as a State, there shall be coined at the mints of the United States silver 50-cent pieces to the number of one hundred thousand, such 50-cent pieces to be of the standard troy weight, composition, diameter, device, and design as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the</p>
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Treasury, and said 50-cent pieces shall be legal tender in any payment to the amount of their face value.

Sec. 2. That all laws now in force relating to the subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coinage or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material, and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement or counterfeiting, for security of the coin, or for any other purpose, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, shall, so far as applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized: *Provided*, That the Government shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparations for this coinage.

The modelling of the piece was placed in the hands of a young sculptor, Anthony de Francisci, of New York, who later won the competition for the design of the Peace Dollar. That the piece is commonplace in design is due to no fault of the artist, as the specifications were furnished him.

Late in the summer of 1920, 50,028 of these pieces were struck at the Philadelphia mint, and were distributed from

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	<p>the office of the Treasurer of the State at \$1.00 each. The original intention was to have these pieces placed on sale at the Centennial Celebration at Portland, but they were received too late to do so. At least 30,000 were sold fairly promptly. The balance held by the State Treasurer is slowly being distributed and it is claimed that less than 4000 were in the State Treasury in 1922. These may be had in small quantities at face value.</p> <p>17. <i>Obv.</i> The Arms of the State of Maine; a pine tree with a moose at the base (countersunk), supported by two figures representing agriculture and commerce; above, a star and DIRIGO on scroll; below shield, MAINE on scroll; above, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; below, HALF DOLLAR.</p> <p><i>Rcv.</i> Within a wreath of pine needles and cones, MAINE CENTENNIAL 1820-1920; above, E PLURIBUS UNUM and LIBERTY; below. · IN · GOD—WE · TRUST ·</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. size 30 mm. Silver.</p>
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THE PILGRIM TERCENTENARY SOU-
VENIR HALF-DOLLARS

The three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims was the occasion of ceremonies in England and the United States during 1920 and 1921. The town of Plymouth, Mass, celebrated the event in 1921 by several pageants that attracted national attention.

In commemoration of this historic event in our history, a special half-dollar was struck and turned over to the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission for distribution through the National Shawmut Bank of Boston. These were placed on the market at \$1.00 each and bear dates of 1920 and 1921.

The Act of Congress approved May 12, 1920, reads as follows:

AN ACT To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States

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of America in Congress assembled, That in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims there shall be coined at the mints of the United States silver 50-cent pieces to the number of three hundred thousand, such 50-cent pieces to be of the standard troy weight, composition, diameter, device and design as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, which said 50-cent pieces shall be legal tender in any payment to the amount of their face value.

Sec. 2. That all laws now in force relating to the subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coinage or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement or counterfeiting, for security of the coins, or for any other purposes, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, shall, so far as applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized: *Provided*, That the United States shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparations for this coinage.

In accordance with this act, 200,112 of these pieces were struck at the Philadel-

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phia mint in 1920 and 100,053 in July, 1921, or 300,165 of both dates. The designs were furnished by the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission and executed by Cyrus E. Dallin, a well-known Boston sculptor, who has specialized in Indian subjects. The obverse bears a portrait of Governor Bradford as a representative Pilgrim, and the reverse a side view of the "Mayflower." The coin met with a fair measure of praise, though objection was made to the vessel's flying a jib, a sail which had not come into use in 1620. The sail should have been the square water-sail hung under the bowsprit.

18. *Obv.* Half length of Governor Bradford to left, wearing conical hat and carrying book in left arm; in field back of head, IN GOD WE TRUST; above, UNITED · STATES · OF · AMERICA; below, ★ PILGRIM · HALF · DOLLAR ★; under elbow, a small incused d for Dallin.

Rev. The "Mayflower" sailing to left; around the edge, PILGRIM · TER-

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CENTENARY · CELEBRATION ★ 1620–1920 ★

Edge. Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver.

19. Same as above but with date 1921 introduced on obverse in left field. As the previous piece bore no date of striking, but carried only the anniversary dates, 1620–1920, the addition of this second date is interesting.

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MISSOURI CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL
HALF-DOLLAR

On August 10, 1821, Missouri was admitted to Statehood, and in connection with the one-hundredth anniversary celebrations of this event, commemorative half-dollars were issued.

The Government's authorization of the piece approved March 4, 1921, reads:

AN ACT To authorize the coinage of a 50-cent piece in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union there shall be coined at the mints of the United States 50-cent pieces to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand, such 50-cent pieces to be of the standard troy weight, composition, diameter, device, and design as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, which said 50-cent pieces shall be legal tender in any payment to the amount of their face value.

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	<p>Sec. 2. That all laws now in force relating to the subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coinage or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement or counterfeiting for security of the coin, or for any other purpose, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, so far as applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized: <i>Provided</i>, That the United States shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparations for this coinage.</p> <p>Although 250,000 were authorized but 50,028 pieces were struck at the Philadelphia Mint in July, 1921.</p> <p>The design of the coin is the work of Robert Aitken, who designed the Panama-Pacific Fifty-Dollar gold pieces, and the hubs for the dies were made by the Medallie Art Co., of New York. A description of the piece is as follows:</p> <p>20. Obv. Bust of a frontiersman with coon-skin cap and deer-skin jacket to left; above, UNITED STATES</p>
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OF · AMERICA; below, HALF · DOLLAR;
in lower field on each side, 1821—1921 ·

Rev. A frontiersman with gun and powder horn, with extended arm, beside an Indian in war-bonnet holding shield and pipe; in field, 24 stars (Missouri was the twenty-fourth State admitted to the Union), four rows of six each; below at right, in monogram RA (Robert Aitken); above, MISSOURI · CENTENNIAL · in exergue, · SEDALIA · in sunken letters.

Edge. Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver.

21. Same, but in the field on the obverse above the 1821 a small incuse 2 ★ 4; this indicating that Missouri is represented by the twenty-fourth star on the flag.

The word "Sedalia" on the reverse refers to the Exposition and State Fair held in August, 1921, at Sedalia, in celebration of the Centennial.

Mr. Robert Aitken submitted sketches for this coin, the reverse showing the Arms of Missouri. At the suggestion

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	<p>of the Commission of Fine Arts, the reverse was changed to the frontiersman and the Indian, a decided improvement. In the meantime the advertisements and first illustration of the coin show the piece with the Arms of Missouri.</p> <p>Five thousand of the pieces bearing the special mark 2★4 were struck, but were not put on sale until several months after the other pieces had been offered.</p> <p>The Missouri Centennial Committee of the Sedalia, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce was made custodian of these memorial coins, and the Sedalia Trust Company distributed them at one dollar each. It is reported that 29,600 pieces were returned to the mint.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

THE ALABAMA CENTENNIAL HALF-DOLLAR

In commemoration of the admission of the State of Alabama to the Union on December 14, 1819, centennial celebrations were carried on throughout the State in 1919 and 1920. The Centennial Commission decided it would be fitting to have a commemorative half-dollar struck. This was provided for by the Act of Congress, dated May 10, 1920:

AN ACT To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That as soon as practicable, and in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union as a State, there shall be coined at the mints of the United States silver 50-cent pieces to the number of one hundred thousand, such 50-cent pieces to be of the standard troy

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	<p>weight, composition, diameter, device and design as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and said 50-cent pieces shall be legal tender in any payment to the amount of their face value.</p> <p>Sec. 2. That all laws now in force relating to the subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coining or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material, and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement of counterfeiting, for security of the coin, or for any other purpose, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, shall, so far as applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized: <i>Providing</i>, That the Government shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparations for this coinage.</p> <p>Although Congress passed this Act at the same time that it passed the Act for the Maine Centennial coin, the Alabama pieces were not struck until the close of the year 1921, two years after the event it commemorated. The coin was designed by Mrs. Laura Gardin Fraser, of</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

New York, from suggestions by the Alabama Commission.

The pieces were first put on sale at Birmingham, Alabama, on the morning of October 26, during the visit of President Harding to that city. They were later distributed by the various banks in the State at \$1.00 each. The profit from the sale will be used for historic and monumental purposes. Although the Act called for 100,000 pieces but 70,000 were struck.

As in the case of the Missouri half-dollar, there are two varieties. 6006 pieces were struck in October with the Saint Andrew's Cross, and the figure 22 back of the head of Governor Kilby. The St. Andrew's Cross is the emblem on the Alabama State flag, which in turn was taken from the Confederate battle flag. The "22" connotes that Alabama was the twenty-second State to enter the Union.

In December, 1921, 64,038 of these pieces without the special mark were struck at the mint.

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	<p>22. <i>Obv.</i> Accolated busts of William Wyatt Bibb, the first Governor of Alabama, and Thomas E. Kilby, the present Governor, facing to left; beneath truncation, in small letters, BIBB—1921—KIRBY. In field at lower left, twelve stars in three lines; at lower right, ten stars in three lines; above, incuse, 2 x 2. At top, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN GOD WE TRUST; at bottom, HALF DOLLAR.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> The seal of Alabama, an eagle to left with raised wings, arrows in talons; in back, the United States shield. In eagle's beak a ribbon with the State's motto, HERE WE REST; above, STATE OF ALABAMA; below, 1819 CENTENNIAL 1919; in left field, LGF, the initials of the artist.</p> <p><i>Edge.</i> Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver.</p> <p>23. Same, but without the 2 x 2 in field. The portrait of Governor Kilby on this piece has caused much comment. It is the first instance of the portrayal of a living person on a coin of our country.</p>
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THE GRANT MEMORIAL COINAGE

The centenary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant on April 2, 1822, brought forth, during 1922, another souvenir coinage.

The chief celebrations were held in Ohio, the State in which General Grant was born. In 1921 an organization was incorporated in that State under the name of "The Ulysses S. Grant Centenary Memorial Association," to conduct appropriate celebrations in Clermont County, Ohio. It was also determined to erect memorial buildings at Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, where Grant lived as a boy and from which place he was named as a cadet for West Point, and at Bethel, Clermont County, where he lived for a short while after his graduation. To help defray the cost of these various undertakings, a bill was introduced in Congress for the Government to mint gold dollars to be sold by the committee at a premium. After a number of vicissitudes and amendments, the bill

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passed Congress and was approved February 2, 1922. It reads as follows:

AN ACT To authorize the coinage of a Grant memorial gold dollar and a Grant silver half-dollar in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant, late President of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of erecting a community building in the village of Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, and a like building in the village of Bethel, Clermont County, Ohio, as a memorial to Ulysses S. Grant, late President of the United States, and for the purpose of constructing a highway five miles in length from New Richmond, Ohio, to Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, the place of birth of Ulysses S. Grant, to be known as the Grant Memorial Road, there shall be coined in the mints of the United States, Grant memorial gold dollars to the number of ten thousand and Grant memorial silver half-dollars to the number of two hundred fifty thousand, said coins to be of a standard troy weight, composition, diameter and design as shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, which said coins shall be legal tender to the amount of

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their face value, to be known as the Grant memorial gold dollar and the Grant memorial silver half-dollar struck in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant, late President of the United States.

That all laws now in force relating to the gold coins and subsidiary silver coins of the United States and the coinage or striking of the same, regulating and guarding the process of coinage, providing for the purchase of material and for the transportation, distribution, and redemption of the coins, for the prevention of debasement or counterfeiting, for security of the coins, or for any other purposes, whether said laws are penal or otherwise, shall so far as applicable, apply to the coinage herein authorized. *Provided*, That the United States shall not be subject to the expense of making the necessary dies and other preparation for this coinage.

The original bill called for 200,000 gold dollars, but it met with decided objections on the ground that too much gold would be drawn away from more useful purposes. Therefore 10,000 gold coins were authorized, and 250,000 silver half-dollars were added. Also the word "memorial" was substituted in the bill for "souvenir" in describing the coins.

The design, which is the same for both the gold dollar and the silver half-dollar, is the work of Laura Gardin Fraser, of New York. The mint at Philadelphia struck during March 10,016 of the gold dollars, and 100,061 of the half-dollars, and these were put on sale early in April, two months after the bill's passage.

As with most of the previous issues of souvenir coins, the purpose is raising money. Not only is it regrettable that a single design was employed for the two denominations, but the precedent of creating minor varieties established for the Missouri and Alabama issues was adopted with the Grant coins. A small incuse star was placed on a limited number of the dollars and half-dollars to be sold at a further increased price, making four varieties of coins instead of two. In the case of the Missouri and Alabama coins, there was some meaning to the added symbols, but in this case there is apparently no significance. Had four stars been placed on it, they would at least have shown the rank of Grant as

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General. The placing of the star on the half-dollar was not originally contemplated. It was brought about by a request for two varieties of half-dollars when the gold dollars were ordered. Five thousand of both the dollar and half-dollar were struck with the star impressions.

24. *Obv.* Bust to right in military uniform; below truncation, 1822 G 1922; in field at left, ULYSSES · S ·, at right, GRANT. Around at top, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; at bottom, ONE DOLLAR.

Rev. A log cabin, fence in front, and tall trees surrounding. In field at left, E | PLURI · BUS | UNUM; at top, IN GOD WE TRUST.

Edge. Reeded. Size 14½ mm. Gold.

25. Similar, but with small incuse star in field near last A of AMERICA.

26. Similar, but with HALF DOLLAR instead of ONE DOLLAR.

Edge. Reeded. Size 30 mm. Silver.

27. Same, but with small incuse star in field near last A in AMERICA.

The inscriptions on these coins make no direct reference to the purpose of their issue, the only instance of such an omission on our commemorative coins.

It is likely that the coming years will see a continuation of the precedent established and recorded in the foregoing pages—that of striking a Memorial piece to celebrate the Centenary of each respective State into the Union. Consequently, our series of Commemorative coins will grow in size, and should develop in interest. It is to be hoped that the succeeding ones will improve on those which have gone before and, in some measure, free the series from the unavoidable criticism which has greeted so many of the issues which have already appeared.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE I



Columbian Half-dollar



Isabella Quarter-dollar



Louisiana Purchase Exposition Dollars

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE II



Lewis and Clark Exposition Dollars



Lafayette Dollar

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE III



Quarter Eagle



Half-dollar



Dollar

Panama-Pacific Exposition

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE III



Quarter Eagle



Half-dollar



Dollar

Panama-Pacific Exposition

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE IV



McKinley Memorial Dollar



Illinois Centennial Half-dollar



Maine Centennial Half-dollar



COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE V



Pilgrim Tercentenary Half-dollar



Missouri Centennial Half-dollar

COMMEMORATIVE COINAGE

PLATE VI



Alabama Centennial Half-dollar



Grant Memorial Dollar



Grant Memorial Half-dollar

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 17



SIX ROMAN BRONZE MEDALLIONS

By AGNES BALDWIN

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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SIX ROMAN BRONZE MEDALLIONS

BY

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	I
<p><i>Archaeology</i> <i>Amer. Numismatic Soc.</i> <i>2-19-80</i> <i>2,285</i></p> <p>SIX ROMAN BRONZE MEDALLIONS</p> <p>MEDALLION OF MANTINEA, ARCADIA</p> <p>ANTINOUS, DIED 130 A.D.</p> <p>1. <i>Obv.</i> ΒΕΤΟΥ, on l. upwards,—ΠΙΟC, on r. downwards (<i>Vetourios</i>). Bust of Antinous to left, head inclined slightly downwards, shoulders bare; border of dots.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΤΟΙC, above,—ΑΡΚΑΔΙ, on r. downwards, "to the Arcadians." Horse advancing to the right on exergual line, left foreleg raised: border of dots.</p> <p>Æ medallion, 41 mm. 39.30 gr., dark green patination. Pierpont Morgan Coll. (formerly Martinetti and Nervagna Coll., Cat. No. 2051). Plate I.</p>	
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2	R O M A N B R O N Z E
	<p>This Antinous medallion of Veturius with bust <i>to the left</i> is apparently a new example which has not been published. It is not illustrated in the Martinetti Catalogue nor described as to weight and size, but as the other bronze medallions in the Pierpont Morgan Collection are all from this source, this is presumably the piece described under No. 2051 of the catalogue.</p> <p>It is a remarkably fine piece and the portrait is quite similar to that of the medallions of Corinth (Achæan Confederation) and of Chalcedon (G. Blum, <i>Jour. Internat.</i>, Pl. i, 14 and Pl. iii, 9), which represent Antinous with broad shoulders and bust of rather heavy proportions, bare, three-quarters to the left, and with head in profile. The medallion of Corinth with the head tilted slightly downwards is a closer parallel than the Chalcedonian piece. On the present piece the head is still further inclined, a pose which gives to the portrait a grave and reflective expression. The beautiful Arcadian medallion now in the British</p>
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Museum (*B. M. Cat. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxxiii, 1, bust to the r.) obtains this same effect by a slightly different means, namely, by the left shoulder being also raised. One may safely assume these broad, bare busts on the medallions to have been inspired from sculpture, probably a bas-relief of which there were many in ancient times as the numerous survivals indicate.

The Antinous medallions constitute the grand exception to the rule, that only the emperor's portrait or that of members of his family could be placed upon the regular coinage or the medallions, whether issued by the Roman emperors in the capital itself or by local authorities in the Greek provinces. There are only a few issues among the copper coins struck in the Greek cities under Roman rule which bear types other than imperial portraits. These types are occasionally a local god or hero, but usually personifications such as the city-goddess ΤΥΧΗ, the Demos ΙΕΡΟC ΔΗΜΟC, the Senate ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC, or Boule ΙΕΡΑ

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	<p>BOYAH. The majority of these are lesser issues of a very moderate size. An exceptional piece of this class is the large bronze piece of Sardes (<i>B. M. Cat. Lydia</i>, Pl. xxvi, 1) with the head of the city-goddess, Sardis, veiled and turreted on the obverse. Other cities of Lydia, Saitta, Thyatira and Tralles issued coins of the "first bronze" size with the head of the Senate personified as a youth or as a veiled woman.</p> <p>It is to this class of coins, imperial issues of the Greek cities of the empire, which by exception do not bear heads of the emperors or their families, that the Antinous medallions belong. Proof of this may be found in the fact that bronze coins of the ordinary small sizes bear Antinous heads, <i>e. g.</i>, coins of Sardes (<i>B. M. Cat. Lydia</i>, Pl. xxvi, 10), of Nicopolis in Epirus (G. Blum, <i>Jour. Internat.</i>, 1914, Pl. i, 1), the reverse bearing the ethnic just like the ordinary numismatic issues (cf. <i>B. M. Cat. Thessaly</i>, Pl. xix, 16, a Nicopolis coin with an entirely similar reverse to the Antinous</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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coin, but bearing the head of Philip, Sr.). This is especially clear in the case of the Egyptian coinage of Alexandria which, as the country of Antinous' death and of his immediate deification, commemorated the dead hero with abundant issues. There are a great variety of reverse dies in the Alexandria issues, and the same is true of the emissions of Tarsus, Bithynium and Smyrna.

One must not be misled, therefore, by the appearance of our medallion, its fine style and medallic character, its inscription ΒΕΤΟΥΡΙΟC ΤΟΙC ΑΡΚΑΔΙ, "Veturius (sc. ἀνέθηκε), dedicated (*i. e.*, the issue) to the Arcadians," into regarding it as a true medal. For examples are quite frequent on the regular bronze coinage of Imperial times in the Province of Asia, where the formula ἀνέθηκε, at times coupled with the formula, αἰτησάμενος or αἰτημένου, "at the request of," is used by the civic magistrates or some private individual holding a municipal or priestly office. On the medallions of Antinous the following formulæ occur:

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	<p>Πολεμῶν ἀνέθηκε Σμυρναίοις, at Smyrna, Ὅστιλιος Μαρκέλλος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀνέθηκε at Corinth (Achæan Koinon), Ἀριστότιμος ἀνέθηκεν ἱερεὺς at Delphi; and on the following medallions, ἀνέθηκε is to be understood; Γέσιος τοῖς Ἀδραμυτήνοις, Adramyteum, Ἰούλιος Σατορνίνος Ἀνκυράνοις, Ancyra, and Ἴππων Χαλχαδονίοις, Chalcedon, just as on the Arcadian piece. These individuals who dedicated an issue of coins or medallions probably paid for the expenses incidental to a new issue as an acknowledgment of their political or religious honors. Polemon of Smyrna has been identified with M. Antonius Polemon, who obtained a rich donation for Smyrna from Hadrian. He was a Strategos of Smyrna as the coins tell us (<i>B. M. Cat. Ionia</i>, p. 277). Aristotimus and Hostilius Marcellus were priests, the former high-priest at Delphi (G. Blum, <i>l. c.</i>, p. 61): the latter is designated "priest of Antinous" on one medallion. Veturius, whose name appears on all the Arcadian medallions of Antinous, is otherwise unknown but was</p>
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probably like the other dedicators, an influential citizen holding some civic office, who defrayed in whole or in part the expenses of the new issue, perhaps merely the initial cost of engraving the die, just as a private individual today may be responsible for the issue of a medal.

The occasion on which these special issues were made was doubtless a festival held in honor of the dead hero. This seems particularly confirmed by the Arcadian medallions, for Pausanias (Bk. VIII, 9. 4) mentions an annual festival and games every fourth year in honor of Antinous at Mantinea, where consequently it may be inferred that these medallions were struck. The passage is one of the chief sources for the subject and bears directly on this medallion. Hence it may be quoted at length from Frazer's translation, Pausanias' Description of Greece, Vol. I, p. 384 f. "Antinous is esteemed by them a god, and his temple is the newest at Mantinea. The Emperor Hadrian was exceedingly at-

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	<p>tached to him. I never saw him in life, but I have seen statues and paintings of him. An Egyptian city on the Nile is named after Antinous,¹ and he receives homage in other places. The reason why he is honored in Mantinea is this: Antinous was a native of Bithynium, on the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are descended from Arcadians of Mantinea. Therefore the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also and mysteries are celebrated in his honor every year, and games every fourth year.² In the gymnasium at Mantinea there is a chamber containing images of Antinous; it is worth seeing for the stones with which it is adorned as well as for its paintings, most of which represent Antinous generally in the likeness of Dionysus." An inscription on an architrave found at Mantinea records the erection of a colonnade "For the city of Mantinea and for the native god Antinous" (Frazer, <i>l. c.</i>, IV, p. 213).</p> <p>Thus we see that Mantinea was an important, and probably the chief, center of</p>
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Antinous worship in Arcadia. How, then, are we to interpret the reverse type, a horse? It is not a Mantinean coin-type, but the horse symbolism is found in Arcadian myths of Demeter and Poseidon. Now the chief cult of Mantinea was of Poseidon and the Mantineans wore the trident as a shield emblem (Frazer, *l. c.*, IV, p. 217). A sanctuary of Poseidon *Hippios* was located near the city (*l. c.*, IV, p. 216). Hence the reverse type may be most naturally understood as connected with Poseidon's cult.³ The inscription enables us to assign this piece to Arcadia, and the occurrence of the Mantinean festival of Antinous together with the existence of the Mantinean cult of Poseidon, *the Horse*, are the determining points in establishing Mantinea as the mint place.

Antinous was one of the latest gods to be created for the Græco-Roman pantheon. The ultimate source of his divinity is to be sought in hero-worship and worship of the dead. Antinous died a premature and tragic death from

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	<p>drowning in the sacred waters of the Nile; hence his deification in a land where gods and superstition were innumerable. Doubtless, however, his fame as a dead hero (he is called both θεός, "god or deified," and ἥρωας, "hero," on the medallions) was the more easily secured and his divinity more readily acquiesced in, through the influence of emperor worship. Antinous was, one may say, adopted into the Imperial family of the <i>divi</i>, the dead emperors, who had been made gods. As Pausanias recounts, Hadrian built a temple to Antinous in Mantinea, and then caused him to be formally raised to the rank of a god (Spartianus, <i>Hist. Emp. Hadrian</i>, 14, 7; Eusebius, <i>Chronicon</i>, 127; Tertullian, <i>Apologia</i>, ch. 13). <i>Antinoëia</i> were celebrated at Athens, Eleusis, Argos and Mantinea, and games called τὰ μεγάλα Ἀντινόσια were held at Mantinea. These festivals continued long after his death, which occurred in 130 A. D., for an inscription relating thereto is probably to be dated in the year 262 (Pauly-Wissowa,</p>
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s. v., Antinoeia). The institution and spread of his cult, due originally to Hadrian, could only have been possible in an age when emperor worship had already become an integral part of the Roman religion. However, there was no official recommendation of his apotheosis on the part of the Roman Senate, as was the case with the majority of Roman Emperors who were deified; nor do any of the medallions belong to the Roman imperial series. It was in Egypt the scene of his death, in Bithynium his native city, in Mantinea which colonized Bithynium, and in those cities which probably received special benefactions from Hadrian, that the medallions were issued. This form of worship was naturally more congenial to the Oriental mind, and hence it is not surprising that the majority of the medallions are found to have been struck in Egypt and in Asia, the land of the Diadochi, the heirs to Alexander's kingdom, who inherited with political rights the tradition of the divinity of rulers established by Alexander.

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	<p>A symbol which appears on the coinage of the Seleucid kings of Syria, namely, the star which is found over the head and on the ends of the diadem worn by Antiochus IV, who is styled <i>Theos Epiphanes</i>, "the god manifest," on the coins, is employed also on the Antinous medallions as a sign of divinity (Blum, <i>l. c.</i>, Pl. iv, 5, 6, 7—Tarsus). This is the symbol employed for the first Romans who were divinized—Julius Cæsar and Augustus.⁴ Another attribute of deification given to Antinous on the coins is the Egyptian crown, and his assimilation to various Greek gods, Dionysus, Pan and Apollo, indicate the syncretism of the period.</p>
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<p>MEDALLION OF MARCUS AURELIUS, 164 A.D.</p> <p>2. <i>Obv.</i> M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. IMP. II. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. <i>M(arcus) Aure(ius) Antoninus,</i> <i>Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus),</i> <i>imp(erator) II tr(ibunicia) p(otestate)</i> <i>XVIII, co(n)s(ul) III.</i> Bust of Marcus Aurelius in profile to the left, seen from the rear, bare-headed and bearded, wearing scaly cuirass and paludamentum: border of dots.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> No inscription. Figure of Salus standing to the right under an overhanging tree, left leg crossed over right, leaning on a table before her, on which is a statue of Hygieia. In her left hand she holds a patera from which she is feeding a serpent en- twined around the body of the statue. The serpent's tail hangs down from the table, on which is a vase and a laurel garland; on the cross-bar is a bird (dove?). Border of dots.</p>	
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	<p>Æ medallion, 39 mm. 56 gr., dark green patination. Pierpont Morgan Coll., (formerly Martinetti-Nervegna Cat., Pl. xxvi, 2172. Plate II.</p> <p>Gnecchi, <i>Medaglioni Romani</i>, No. 81, Pl. 66. 3. Cohen, <i>Médailles Impériales</i>, p. 107, No. 1050. Other examples: (1) London; Grueber, <i>Roman Medallions</i>, No. 7, Pl. xx, fig. 1. (2) Paris; Froehner, <i>Médailles romaines</i>, p. 88. Similar medallions with variations in the inscriptions and dates were issued under Marcus in the years 165, 177 and 179 (Gnecchi, Nos. 21, 22 and 80). The present medallion is the first type, and was struck in 164. The reverse type is reproduced under Commodus (Gnecchi, Pl. 80-10).</p> <p>This reverse type is a most charming composition. It would take on a more vivid meaning if we were to regard the chief figure as representing the empress, perhaps in the guise of Venus (in accord with Froehner), rather than as an allegorical personification. The empress herself, rather than the goddess Salus, nourishing Hygieia might indicate a special prayer for health in a critical period. But while the coiffure is similar to that worn by Faustina, yet the drapery would suggest rather the figure of a goddess.</p>
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The suggestion of Froehner that the figure is Faustina in the pose and dress of Venus is fairly acceptable. This type was first used under M. Aurelius in 164, but was repeated later in the years 165, 177 and 179. Now, Faustina Junior died in 175. In spite of this one might, of course, assume that the issues of the years 177 and 179 offer no insurmountable objections to the interpretation of the figure as Faustina. Once the type was created, it might have been merely copied. However, though Salus is often represented on coins fully draped, where she stands or sits with patera in hand near an altar encoiled by a serpent (the inscription SALVS, frequently accompanying the figure and leaving no doubt as to the identification), still on certain medallions, notably two of Faustina's own, we find the semi-nude figure as the Salus type (Gnecchi, Pl. 67, 3 and Pl. 69, 2). Under Lucius Verus also, representations of Salus (Gnecchi, Pl. 72, 8, SALVS in the exergue; *idem*, Pl. 75, 4, Salus standing, holding a serpent in her

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16	ROMAN BRONZE
	<p>arms facing Æsculapius) show the same semi-nude figure.</p> <p>It is in the pose of the figure as a whole that the clue to its meaning lies. The type of a semi-nude figure of Salus standing to the right, with left fore-leg crossed over the right, appears on a medallion of Pius on which Salus is standing in precisely this attitude while conversing with Æsculapius (seated); also on the medallions struck by Hadrian (Gnecchi, Pl. 147, 9) and Antoninus Pius (Gnecchi, Pl. 149, 5 to 7). On Hadrian's piece the figure stands near a garlanded altar inscribed SALVS, to the right of which is a tree entwined by a serpent which she is nourishing. This seems to be the simpler type, probably an earlier one, preceding the more developed type of our medallion. Two of Antoninus' medallions have this same type (Gn. 149, 5 and 6), while a third (Gn., Pl. 149, 7) has on the altar (or table) a serpent-entwined statuette, while behind the Salus figure is a tree. Unfortunately, this last medallion has been</p>
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"miserably retouched and re-cut," so that we should not lay much stress on details of the type. However, it seems clearly a forerunner of the Faustina type in question, and those types of Hadrian and Antoninus showing Salus standing before a tree and altar feeding a serpent wound about the tree, appear to be the earlier development. The medallion of Pius (Gnecchi, Pl. 149, 7) seems in fact to have a type quite similar to Faustina's piece, which has been reworked; the so-called altar seems to be a table, and on it is a vase similar to that on Faustina's medallion.

This evolution of the type explains our medallion with its dual representation of Salus and Hygieia—really identical concepts. The simplest and original type is the one common on the ordinary coins, Salus before an altar feeding a serpent. The more complicated and developed type shows Salus before altar and tree with serpent. In the last development, of which the medallions of Pius and Faustina Junior are examples, the tree is be-

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	<p>hind the figure of Salus, and the simple altar is a table on which is a statuette of the Health deity entwined by the serpent. Thus the laurel garland on the table is explained as a survival from the laurel decked altar.</p> <p>The chief figure is undoubtedly Salus, and the statuette is not Æsculapius as Gneccchi twice calls it (Vol. I, Marcus Aurelius, Nos. 21, 22, and Vol. III, Antoninus Pius, No. 149), but Hygieia. This duplication of the concept in human figure and statue arises from the further evolution of the type. Salus may be represented with her attribute, the serpent, which is the health giving <i>numen</i>. She is represented as feeding her serpent at an altar which is therefore her own altar. Hence she may as a human personification feed her serpent entwined about her own figure as an <i>agalma</i>.</p>
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MEDALLION OF LUCIUS VERUS

166 A.D.

3. *Obv.* L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTII. MAX. *L(ucius) Verus, Aug(ustus) Arm(eniacus), Parth(icus) Max(imus).*

Laureated bust of Lucius Verus to the right, bearded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass: border of dots.

Rev. TR. P. VI. IMP. IIII. COS. II. *Tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) VI imp(er-ator) (IV), co(n)s(ul) II.* Lucius Verus standing to the left on a platform with the prætorian prefect slightly behind him; a soldier at guard stands on the ground at the right of the platform. Verus wears a cuirass and paludamentum, which is thrown back over left shoulder. His right hand is raised in the attitude of address. Below, facing the platform stands a group of four Roman soldiers in full armour, with shields, crested helmets and military standards. Between Verus and the soldiers stands a figure

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	<p>in Roman dress, apparently that of a youth and hence probably the youthful brother and heir of the Emperor, Commodus.</p> <p>Æ medallion, 39 mm. 45 gr. (re-touched), dark green patination. Pierpont Morgan Coll. (formerly Martinetti-Nervegna Coll., Pl. xxvii, 2254).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Plate III.</p> <p>Cf. Cohen, p. 96, No. 288. Four other examples are cited by Gnecci, under No. 14, Pl. 74. A similar example with details of the reverse uncertain, is in the Vienna Cabinet (Gnecci, Pl. 75-10).</p> <p>The principal point of interest about this medallion is the identification of the central figure of the reverse group. Cohen and also Sambon (Martinetti Catalogue) describe the reverse subject as Lucius Verus presenting the King of the Parthians to the legion. Gnecci writes "King of the Parthians or Medes (or perhaps better, little Commodus)." The Roman dress worn by the small figure indicates that it is not a Parthian who stands before the soldiers. Commodus was a youth of five years in 166 A.D.,</p>
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when the medallion was struck, and though so young, yet received in this year the title of Cæsar.

The reverse composition is similar to the commoner ADLOCVTIO, FIDES EXERCIT(UUM) and FIDEI MILIT(UM) types, a series in which the emperor, accompanied usually by the prefect of the prætorian cohort and a body guard, stands upon a platform and harangues a group of soldiers bearing standards. These addresses to the army took place on certain important occasions—as, for instance, when the Cæsar was elected to succeed the Emperor, when the latter departed for some military expedition, or returned, and when there was a review of the troops. We have already indicated what the significance of the reverse is here. Hence, the medallion refers to a definite event, and may be described, as historical medals are classified, “presentation of Commodus (as Cæsar) to the Army by Lucius Verus, 166 A.D.”

The obverse portrait is one of the finest in Roman medallion history. Verus

wore his beard long, had considerable height, strongly modelled features and deep-set eyes, all of which combined to give to his appearance an impression of majesty. In character he fell far short of achieving greatness. The titles of Armeniacus and Parthicus Maximus were bestowed upon him after the successful conclusion of the wars in Armenia and Parthia in 166, in which his general, Cassius, had played the active part, Verus having left the campaign to go to Ephesus to meet his bride, Lucilla. On his return to Rome he received with Marcus Aurelius the honors of a triumph which were but little deserved.

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MEDALLION OF LUCILLA, WIFE OF
LUCIUS VERUS, 164-169 A.D.

4. *Obv.* LUCILLAE AVG. ANTONINI
AVG. F. *Lucillae Aug(ustae), Antonini
Aug(usti) f(iliae).* "To Lucilla Au-
gusta, daughter of Antoninus Augus-
tus." Bust of Lucilla to the right,
draped; her hair in low knot; border of
dots.

Rev. No inscription. Lucilla (or
Faustina) wearing tunic and peplum
standing to the right and handing a
group-statuettes of the Three Graces
to a seated figure of Vesta. The latter,
fully draped, is seated on a high-backed
throne, wears a diadem and carries a
scepter in her left hand; her feet rest
on a foot-stool. On the cross-piece of
the throne is a pellet. Border of dots.

Æ medallion, 37 mm. 47.24 gr. fine
patination. *Unique.* Pierpont Mor-
gan Coll. (Formerly Martinetti-Ner-
vegna Coll., Pl. xxviii, 2277. Gnechi,
No. 10, Pl. 76, 7. **Plate IV.**

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The subject of the reverse would appear to be a simple allegorical scene depicting the Empress standing before a seated goddess, who seems to be Vesta, and presenting to her a group of three diminutive figures, which resembles the group of the Three Graces. Sig. G. Pansi, however, has suggested a novel interpretation of the scene (*Riv. Ital.*, 1920, p. 163)—a ceremonial presentation to a maternity goddess, Juno or Venus, of the three children of Lucilla. Lucilla, to be sure, is not known to have had any children by Lucius Verus, but since Fecunditas types appear on her coinage (Cohen Nos. 18–26, coins; No. 104, medallion) as on those of the two Faustinas preceding her, it is argued that the coins themselves prove that she did have children. Cohen, too, comments on the Fecunditas as well as on the Juno Lucina types of her coinage as apparently indicating that Lucilla had offspring, although there is no mention of this fact in the history of Lucius Verus.

But although the strength of Sig.

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<p>the Empress and her son. As admitted above, there seems every probability from the coinage that Lucilla had issue by her marriage with Lucius Verus, and there is, therefore, no objection to this interpretation which, however, can remain only a supposition. The fact, however, that Cupid is here without wings, while usually he is depicted with them on Antonine medallions, may be said to strengthen this hypothesis.</p>	
A N D M O N O G R A P H S	

MEDALLION OF GORDIANUS III PIUS

242 A.D.

6. *Obv.* IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FELIX AVG. *Imp(erator) Gordianus Pius, Felix, Aug(ustus).* Bust of Gordianus Pius, laureate, draped and with cuirass to the left, seen from the rear. Border of dots.

Rev. VICTO-RIA AVG., *Victoria Aug(usti).* A temple of the Doric order, with four columns visible, forming a portico above which is a pediment. In the interior is a standing figure of Mars, and a grille is visible half-way down the interior and inner columns on both sides. On the pediment, above which rises the dome, is the inscription ΝΕΙΚΗ, and on the frieze ΟΠΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ (Νίκη ὀπλοφόρος, "The Warrior Victory"). At the right stands the Emperor as chief pontiff, veiled, sacrificing at a lighted altar, accompanied by three attendants bearing long, curving spears. At the

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<p>left of the temple is a <i>popa</i> (a priest's assistant, who conducted the victim to sacrifice) with raised axe about to slay a bull, and at the extreme left a <i>victimarius</i> (assistant at sacrifice, who slew the victim). Border of dots.</p> <p>Æ medallion, 38 mm. 47.60 gr. Pierpont Morgan Coll. (formerly Martinetti-Nervegna Coll., Pl. xxxiii, 2268—Gnecchi, No. 50, Pl. 106, 4. Plate VI.</p> <p>Varieties of this medallion are described by Gnecchi, Nos. 49, 51, 52. This piece seems to be the only one so far published with the obverse type, bust to left, seen from rear. It is therefore a unique piece. The obverse unfortunately needs cleaning.</p> <p>This piece has the special interest of referring to an historical event and bearing an architectural type. Also, the occurrence of a Greek inscription on a Roman medallion is a rare phenomenon—"the only case," Cohen says. The inference from the Greek inscription naturally is that the temple here shown was built to commemorate a military</p>	
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	<p>victory of Gordianus in Asia and was erected not in Rome, but in a Greek city. Gnechi has misread or misprinted the third letter in the adjective as Δ in place of Λ, making an impossible word of it. The adjective may be compared with δορυφόρος, one who bears a spear. ὅπλοφόρος means "one who bears arms," a "warrior or soldier." A medallion of similar type of Gordianus (Cohen, 378; Gnechi, No. 53), bears the inscription ΘΕΟC ΟΠΛΟΦΟΡΟC, "The Warrior God," hence it seems correct to regard the statue in the interior of the temple as representing Mars, rather than Victory (so also Grueber). From a comparison of the figure on the similar medallion, the figure, small though it is, seems to be certainly that of Mars. Both these titles, "Warrior Victory" and "Warrior God" are unusual.</p> <p>The victory which the medallion commemorates is referred by Cohen to the campaign in the East, in 242 A.D., in which Gordianus took command in person against the Sassanians of Persia,</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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who had committed aggressions against the Roman provinces on the frontier. It seems probable that the medallion refers to this campaign. It was the only important achievement of Gordianus' reign. It was also a very considerable victory, for Shapur I having invaded Mesopotamia was threatening the Roman frontier, and had already occupied Antioch in Syria. Gordianus took a very large army, and reconquered Antioch and some cities of Mesopotamia. A number of medallions and coins relate to this victory, notably the type with Gordianus in military dress on horseback, preceded by a figure of Victory, and followed by soldiers with military standards (Cohen, 379).

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

NOTES ON MEDALLION OF MANTINEA,
ARCADIA

¹ Hadrian founded a city on the Nile near the scene of Antinous' fatal end, calling it "Antinoupolis."

² An inscription found at Olympia mentions the great games of Antinous which may be the Mantinean games. (Frazer, *op. cit.* iv, p. 213.)

³ Another view is that of Dietrichson, *Antinous*, quoted by Blum (*Journ. Internat.*, 1914, p. 38) who connects the horse type with the race courses at the Antinoëia.

NOTE ON THE STAR AS A SYMBOL OF DEIFICATION

⁴ An even earlier instance for coins of the Roman period, however, is that on the Asiatic coinage of Pompey the Great, struck in the re-founded city of Soli, in Cilicia, which was renamed Pompeiopolis (*B. M. Cat. Galatia*, etc., Pl. xxvii, 2). The obverse bears the head of Pompey enclosed in a filleted border; before the head is a large star and a lituus, and behind, an object which is possibly a sacrificial ewer (*B. M. Cat.*, p. 152, Note 2). The symbols are, therefore, emblems of religious office and a star. The coin is dated on the reverse in the year 19-16=51-50 B.C., and was consequently struck during his lifetime, since he was killed in 48 B.C. Antony and Cæsar also were deified at the time of their pro-consulship in Asia, as was also Titus Quinctius Flamininus in Macedonia. The significance of the star accompanying Pompey's head on the coin of Soli-Pompeiopolis is, therefore, perfectly clear.

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Hill (*Historical Greek Coins*, p. 168) discusses the star on this coin and refers to its use on the earlier coins of Soli as a symbol and as a type on the coins of Pompeiopolis, but he says, "Its especial significance here is obscure." Moreover, there is an additional symbol of deification on this piece, namely, the filleted border enclosing the head. Babelon (*Les Rois de Syrie*, p. lxxvi, f.) has shown that this border on the coins of the Seleucid kings, derived from the sacred woolen fillet of Apollo, recalls their divine origin as sons of Apollo. This fillet is commonly used on the coinage of Antiochus III, at a time when the principle of the worship of the reigning monarch was already firmly established as part of the state religion—its earliest use is under Antiochus II. It has been most interestingly shown by Macdonald (*Coin Types*, p. 148, f. 4) how portraiture and deification went hand in hand on post-Alexandrine coins. Burgon even went so far as to maintain that portraiture alone was evidence *per se* of deification. There cannot therefore be the shadow of a doubt as to the star symbol on the coin of Pompey and the medallions of Antinous being a sign of deification.

When we turn to the consideration of the original intent of the symbol, a very wide field of investigation is opened up. One of the most difficult questions which presents itself for decision at the outset, is whether the Romans borrowed this symbol from the East. An early occurrence in the eastern part of the Empire is that just mentioned of Pompey's coin struck in Cilicia in 51-50 B.C. As a symbol of

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	<p>deification, the star is very widespread on coins struck in the East. The Seleucid kings of Syria, the Parthian kings, Orodes I and Phraates IV, used it. Tigranes of Armenia, 96–95 B.C., the last ruler of the Seleucid kingdom, 83–69 B.C., employed it as an emblem placed between two eagles on his royal tiara. The Oriental symbolism may be safely predicated for the origin of the symbol on Pompey's coin. However, the history of the star on the coinage commemorative of Julius Cæsar, where it was first used by the Romans as a deification symbol, namely, by M. Agrippa in 38 B.C. (<i>aureus</i> in Paris with star above the head of a youthful, divinized Julius Cæsar, and reverse, M. AGRIPPA COS. DESIG., Cohen, 33), seems to suggest another origin. For on the coins struck by P. Sepullius Macer in 44 B.C. (<i>B. M. Cat., Coins of Roman Republic</i>, Pl. liv, 15–17), presumably before the death of Cæsar, a very conspicuous star is placed behind the head of Cæsar on the obverse, and a small star is found at the end of the sceptre of Venus on the reverse. Now, these stars perhaps have nothing to do with deification, but are merely allusions to the star of the goddess Venus, the protecting divinity of the Julian family. It may therefore be inferred that when Agrippa placed a star above the deified Julius' head on his coin of 38 B.C., he was employing the symbol as a distinguishing emblem of Cæsar's family, connecting him with the gods, without in any way following a symbolism long established in the East. Thus the symbol may have had a quite independent origin in <i>Roman</i> tradition, and this seems more plausible. Hence,</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

we must not lay too much stress on the simultaneous occurrence of both the star and the radiate crown on the coinage struck by Tiberius and Caligula and others in honor of *Divus Augustus*, and on the much earlier Greek coinage of Antiochus IV of Syria. As evidence of the actual origin of the Roman symbolism, Babelon, (*Rois de Syrie*, p. xciii) says, "Les Romains empruntèrent ce symbole de la déification (*i.e. the star*) aux Orientaux, et nous rappellerons *le sidus Iulium* que, sur les monnaies romaines, brille au-dessus du front de Jules César divinisé." The Roman symbol seems rather to have been at first the star of Venus Genetrix, from whom Julius Cæsar claimed to be descended through his supposed ancestor, Æneas, whereas the Seleucid star seems rather to symbolize the ruler's claim to have become the god Apollo, which is certainly the significance of the radiate crown. Augustus, himself, was a most assiduous devotee of the cult of Apollo and the Apolline head with the rayed crown was a familiar Republican coin type. Of course, it is simple enough to argue that the precedent set by Antiochus IV for the use of the rayed crown may have been familiar to the successors of Augustus who wished to portray him as a divinized being on their coins. And if this be so, the star symbolism used by this Seleucid king must also have been known. But as the use of the star symbol alone on Roman coins precedes the use of the rayed crown, we may really have here a double origin. The star of Venus on the coins struck to commemorate the deified Julius Cæsar was later combined with the Apolline emblem, the rayed

crown, on the coins struck in honor of the deified Augustus—bronze coins inscribed *Divus Augustus Pater*, so that quite probably the original sense of the symbol as the Julian star was lost, and replaced by the Oriental meaning of the star as sun. This was the significance of the star symbolism in the East, as is apparent from its early and later history on coins of the East. This is, of course, the meaning in the better-known combined symbol of star and crescent (sun and moon), the old Persian (Mithraic) symbol.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the star is found on Roman coins struck by Augustus in honor of Divus Julius, and on coins of Tiberius and Caligula in honor of Divus Augustus. Caligula honored his sister Drusilla with the star on a coin struck in Apamea, Bithynia, (Babelon, *Recueil gén. des monn. gr.*, Pl. xxxviii, 11), and Divus Julius is also figured with a star above the head at Apamea (*B. M. Cat.*, Pl. xxv, 10). The star, however, is not often found in the Roman series, nor on Greek imperial coins after the time of Caligula. An interesting later occurrence is on the rare *aureus* of Hadrian, struck in honor of his dead parents, Trajan and Plotina, the star appearing above the head of each on the reverse, which bears the inscription DIVIS PARENTIBUS, "To the deified parents" (Cohen, II, p. 246, no. 1).

Most interesting is the latter day recurrence of this very ancient star symbol on the medallions of Napoleon I, which are replete with classical symbolism and types. The star appears above the head of Napoleon (Millin,

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MEDALLIONS

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Histoire Métallique de Napoléon, 1819. Pl. xlviii, 236) exactly as it is found above the heads of Julius Cæsar and Augustus on Roman coins. It also appears in the field behind the head on a medal on which Napoleon is represented with the features of Augustus (*l. c.*, Pl. xvi, 36; cf., another medal on the same plate, No. 72, for an Augustan type of head). In fact, the star of Napoleon became an emblem of auspicious omen on his medals (*l. c.*, Pl. xxxii, 88, a genius guided "par l'étoile de Napoléon I"). That Napoleon's star also signified the sun seems pretty clearly indicated by a medal (*l. c.*, Pl. vii, 241), on which is represented a distant view of the Alps, above which the sun, and in its disk, the star of Napoleon. As it is perfectly obvious that the medallists of Napoleon's time drew their inspiration from classical coins, copying both Greek and Roman designs, legends and ideas, the star of Napoleon is a palpable revival of the Julian and Augustan emblem.

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ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE I



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE II



Medallion of Marcus Aurelius



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE III



Medallion of Lucius Verus

ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE I



Medallion of Antinous Mantinea



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE II



Medallion of Marcus Aurelius



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE III



Medallion of Lucius Verus

ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE IV



Medallion of Lucilla



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE V



Medallion of Lucilla



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE IV



Medallion of Lucilla



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE V



Medallion of Lucilla



ROMAN MEDALLIONS

PLATE VI



Medallion of Gordianus III



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 18



THE TEGUCIGALPA COINAGE OF 1823

By HOWLAND WOOD

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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THE TEGUCIGALPA COINAGE OF 1823

BY
HOWLAND WOOD



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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	I
<p><i>Archaeology</i> <i>Amer. Numismatic Soc.</i> <i>2-19-30</i> <i>21285</i></p> <p>THE TEGUCIGALPA COINAGE OF 1823</p> <p>BY HOWLAND WOOD</p> <p>When Napoleon in 1808 took over the rights to the Spanish crown and confined Ferdinand VII a prisoner at Bayonne, the results and consequences of this action were of far-reaching import. This usurpation on the part of Napoleon caused intense feeling in the Spanish possessions in the New World, and a struggle soon arose between the supporters of the monarchy and the adherents of freedom. Standards of revolt and of independence were set up by different leaders in various parts of South America and Mexico, meeting with changing fortunes for about ten years. Gradually the different political divisions won their freedom and established themselves as Republics.</p>	
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2	T E G U C I G A L P A
	<p>The coinage of Spanish America for the second and third decades of the Nineteenth Century is indicative of the stirring events and changes of this period. The topic under discussion, however, is with a series of two-real pieces issued at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in 1823, during the last months of Mexican domination under Iturbide or Augustin, and the transitional period after his downfall. The series is remarkable on account of the variety of designs and combinations of dies bearing the date 1823. The issues seem to have begun and ended within that year.</p> <p>In an article written in 1888 by José Esteban Lazo entitled <i>Historia de la Moneda en Honduras</i>, no mention is made at all of this 1823 issue. As the account goes much into detail concerning other periods of the coinage, it seems probable that examples of this coinage are no longer found in Honduras, and that no records are now extant. Repeated inquiries have borne no fruit. Señor Lazo, however, mentions a coinage at Tegucigalpa in 1822, but coins bearing this date are apparently unknown. It is possible that these have disappeared completely, or were</p>
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COINAGE OF 1823

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direct copies of other coins and cannot now be distinguished.

The following translation of an account of this coinage by Señor Lazo is of interest:

“In the year 1822 Don Juan Lindo, a member of the Mexican Cortes, brought from Mexico to Tegucigalpa a die to ‘coin’ reals and half-reals in cut money. The minting took place in the building of the Convent of San Francisco, but there were many falsifications, and it was resolved to give up the minting for this reason. There are no facts in regard to the number struck.”

With the exception of some proclamation pieces struck by Augustin of Mexico in Guatemala, Chiapas and Quezaltenango in 1822, the above coins constitute the only issues in Central America of this revolutionary period.

The next coinage appeared seven years later when General Morazán brought a coining press from Guatemala.

The regular coinages of the Republic of Central America began at Guatemala in

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4	T E G U C I G A L P A
	<p>1824, and coins of the same design, the common type with sun, mountains and tree, were struck in Honduras in 1830. These had the mint mark T, for Tegucigalpa. Costa Rica adopted this design in 1831. In the meantime, similar pieces were inaugurated in Nicaragua in 1825. Salvador had a provisional coinage from 1828 to 1835.</p> <p>For a better understanding of this coinage of 1823, a brief word regarding the history leading up to this period is necessary.</p> <p>On the whole, Central America remained loyal to Ferdinand and the Junta Suprema during the time the greater part of Spanish America was in revolt. Although feeling ran high and opposing parties were formed, no real rupture occurred until 1821. Especially was this true as long as Ferdinand remained in the power of Napoleon. On his release in 1814, he aroused much antagonism by a manifesto setting aside the constitution. This, under compulsion, he restored in 1820, but conciliatory actions on the part of Spain were too late. Revolutions in Mexico, for a time suppressed, were breaking out again under Iturbide. On February 24,</p>
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1821, the Plan of Iguala was formulated, when Guerrero and the Spanish Viceroy O'Donaju joined with Iturbide and proposed an independent monarchy with a ruler from the Spanish Royal Family. Chiapas in the Captain-Generalcy of Guatemala was the first to break away and link itself with Mexico. Independence was proclaimed in Guatemala on September 15, 1821, when it was decreed that representatives should be chosen for a National Congress of Central America.

The officials at Comayagua, in Honduras, took an oath to support the Plan of Iguala, which meant a virtual submission to the Mexican Empire. The Partidos of Tegucigalpa and Gracias, and the ports of Omoa and Trujillo, would not agree to this and maintained relations with the Guatemala Assembly, to which they sent representatives. Independence from Spain was declared on October 16, 1821.

In Nicaragua, some provinces voted to join the Assembly at Guatemala, but the majority voted to become a part of Mexico. Salvador cast her lot with Guatemala.

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6	T E G U C I G A L P A
	<p>The idea of a union with Mexico became every day more popular. Iturbide had grandiose ideas of Imperial sway and was determined on the acquisition of the whole of Central America. On January 5, 1822, the Junta by decree made the whole of the country a part of the Empire of Mexico. Salvador and certain sections of Honduras still held out.</p> <p>On the overthrow of Iturbide in March, 1823, Central America became autonomous, A Resolution was adopted on March 29, 1823, which called together a Congress of all the provinces to carry out the Act of September 15, 1821, which had been annulled by the fifteen months' incorporation of the country with Mexico. Various steps were then taken to enter into a union with the other provinces to constitute an independent Central American nation. Congress assembled on June 24, 1823, and an Ordinance of Independence was adopted on July 1, and ratified on October 1, of this eventful year.</p> <p>The series of coins under discussion were crudely executed and were struck in base</p>
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silver. At least nine distinct dies were used producing eight combinations. This in itself is unusual, especially if the pieces were struck within the year 1823. The dies were undoubtedly made within that year, and all the coins were most likely struck before 1824. No great number could have been issued, judging by their extreme rarity. It is a remarkable fact that these coins are all of the denomination of two-reals.

The sequence of the dies, with the exception of No. 1, is difficult to determine exactly. The coins themselves with their several die-combinations are even more complicated when assigning their proper order. The present arrangement is consequently merely tentative. The initials on the pieces may give a clue if the precedent of the South American mints is followed which placed the initials of the mint officials on the coins.

In the Tegucigalpa series are found two sets of letters—M. P. and L. A. It can be safely said that the coin bearing the head of Augustin (No. 1) was the initial coinage, as it must have been struck before the downfall of the Emperor in March. This piece bears

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8	TEGUCIGALPA
	<p>the letters M. P. The other dies bearing the same letters should follow; then the coins with the initials L. A. showing a change of mint personnel. The L. A. coins are combined with the M. P. initials on the other side, but this might be explained by the fact that the earlier dies were used in conjunction with those newly cut. The practice apparently was to use indiscriminately any pair of dies on hand for the sake of economy.</p> <p>This consideration of the letters M. P. as initials of mint officials might be challenged. They might possibly stand for the abbreviation of <i>Moneda Provisional</i>. On coins Nos. 4 to 7 the inscriptions read M. TEGVSIGALPA and M. PROVISIONAL. In these instances the M undoubtedly stands for <i>Moneda</i>. It would seem extremely doubtful that the letters M. P., Nos. 1, 2 or 3, can be anything else than the initials of mint officials. Certainly No. 1 cannot be considered a provisional issue; and the transposal of the letters on the reverse of No. 2 would militate against such a theory.</p> <p>Medina considers the initials L. A. stand for <i>Año Libertad</i> in his description of No. 6.</p>
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He has undoubtedly mis-read the inscription, placing a second 3 after the date, interpreting it as *the third year of liberty*. There is no second 3 on the coin.

Again, if the legend be read *Año Libertad* the letters would be A. L. instead of L. A. as they appear on Nos. 7 and 8.

AUGUSTIN I EMPEROR

MEXICAN SUPREMACY (UNTIL MARCH, 1823)

1 *Obv.* Crudely executed head of Augustin to left, ENPER (*sic*) . AGVSTIN . 1823 .

Rev. Crowned Mexican eagle on cactus.

M.P.—2 R.

Base silver. 22 mm. **Plate I**

American Numismatic Society. Inedited.

There is no indication of the minting place on this piece, but the mint is clearly established by Nos. 6 and 8 which have the same reverse die used in conjunction with dies inscribed TEGUSIGALPA.

The workmanship is decidedly inferior to the proclamation reals issued in Guatemala and Chiapas the preceding year.

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10	TEGUCIGALPA
	<p data-bbox="639 380 1230 420" style="text-align: center;">PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT</p> <p data-bbox="574 459 1295 541" style="text-align: center;">AFTER THE DOWNFALL OF AUGUSTIN IN MARCH.</p> <p data-bbox="574 581 1295 810">2 <i>Obv.</i> Castles and lions within the compartments of a cross, enclosed within four sets of double semi-circles; at sides, M—P; around, PLVSVLTRA; the rest of the circle filled with a rope pattern.</p> <p data-bbox="613 821 1295 997"><i>Rev.</i> Pillars of Hercules above two wavy lines. In three lines divided by two horizontal lines, P-2-M LV-SVL-TR T-823-G. Good silver. 26 mm. Plate I</p> <p data-bbox="613 1029 1182 1060">American Numismatic Society. Inedited.</p> <p data-bbox="613 1089 1295 1602">Although this piece has many of the characteristics of the Caracas issues of 1817-1821¹, the workmanship is considerably different. It can also be compared with the extensive series of one-real and two-real pieces which were struck on thin and thick planchets, and noted chiefly for the many impossible dates they bear.² The piece is included here particularly on account of the letters M.P. The transposal of the M.P. to P.M. on the reverse is</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

COINAGE OF 1823

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in accordance with the customs of the Lima and Potosi mints. It is suggested that the T G is an abbreviation of Tegucigalpa.

- 3 *Obv.* Castles and lions within the four compartments of a cross enclosed within four sets of double semi-circles; around, 2 R. M. P.

Rev. Same die as reverse of No. 1.

Appleton Sale, New York, 1913, lot 1371.

Campaner y Fuertes in *Memorial Numismatico Español*, indicates this combination in the illustrations on Plate VIII by a line connecting the two obverses of Nos. 4 and 6 of this article. Again, we have a coin with no mint indication.

- 4 *Obv.* Crowned arms of Spain between the Pillars of Hercules. Around, 2 R. M. TEG VSIGAL PA L—A 1823.

Rev. Same as obverse of No. 3.

Base silver. 24 mm.

Plate I

Ulex Sale, Frankfort, 1908, lot 2202 (illustrated), Medina, No. 253; Campaner y Fuertes, p. 256, No. 18; pl. viii, 9; Maillet, pl. cix, 1.

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12	TEGUCIGALPA
	<p>The drawing of the coin on Campaner's plate, while agreeing in every other way with the piece here illustrated, divides the word TEGV-SIGAL-PA. Maillet's drawing, evidently copied, is consequently the same.</p> <p>This is the first instance of the name Tegucigalpa as well as the letters L A on the coins.</p> <p>The Royal Arms on this coin may have significance as indicating that this piece was struck by the Spanish party; but the fact that the name of Ferdinand is not on the coin lessens somewhat such a supposition.</p> <p>5 <i>Obv.</i> Same as the obverse of no. 4. <i>Rev.</i> Similar to the reverse of no. 4, but single semi-circles instead of double. Base silver. 25 mm. Plate II Am. Num. Soc.; Vidal Quadras No. 10963, pl. 79-8</p> <p>6 <i>Obv.</i> Same as obverse of No. 4. <i>Rev.</i> Same as reverse of No. 1. Campaner y Fuertes, Pl. viii, 10; Medina, No. 252; Maillet, Pl. cix, 2.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

COINAGE OF 1823

13

7 *Obv.* Crowned arms of Spain between the Pillars of Hercules. Around, + 2 R·M· PROVISIONAL·

Rev. Lions and castles within arms of cross enclosed within semi-circles. Around, TEGVSIGALPA L·A 1823

26 mm.

Plate II

Vidal Quadras, No. 10962, pl. 79-7; Medina, No. 254; Fonrobert Sale, Berlin, 1878. Lot 7459.

This is the only instance where the word *Provisional* appears, the M in this case is for *Moneda*.

8 *Obv.* Same as the reverse of No. 7.

Rev. Same as the reverse of No. 1.

Good silver. 24 mm.

Plate II

Am. Num. Soc.; British Museum; Jenks Sale, Philadelphia, 1921, lot 7112; Ulex Sale, lot 2203 (?).

The specimen described in the Ulex Sale answers the description of this piece but is given as without date. It may have been obliterated.

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14	TEGUCIGALPA
	<p>NOTES</p> <p>1. Silver reals, two-reals and four-reals from 1817-1821. Although a number of minor varieties occur, the pieces answer to the following description:</p> <p><i>Obv.</i> Lions and castles within the compartments of a cross enclosed within four scalloped semi-circles; at sides F—7, above and below 1, 2 or 4, according to the value.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> The Pillars of Hercules, inscription between three horizontal lines, 1, 2 or 4 PLV-SVL-TRA B.-1817-S.; below, CARACAS, beneath which three or four wavy lines.</p> <p>2. These pieces have never been accurately assigned. They fall into two classes, on account of style and thickness. It has been suggested that most of the thicker coins, because of the general similarity to certain pieces struck at Rioja, Argentina. in 1822, belong to that locality.</p> <p>The thinner series resembles so closely the style and fabric of the Caracas pieces that the customary assigning of them to</p>
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COINAGE OF 1823

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Venezuela is doubtless correct. They were most certainly struck during the Revolutionary period in the second and third decades of the Nineteenth Century. The initials are invariably M—L, L—M. The most interesting feature, however, is the dates. Some of those noted are as follows: 23, 24, 25, 111, 142, 149, 172, 174, 181, 182, 184, 186, 471, 721, 736, 751, 752, 777, 781, 784, 800, 814, 822, 823, 931, 1816 and 1817.

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16	TEGUCIGALPA
	<p>REFERENCES</p> <p>J. T. Medina. <i>Las Monedas Obsidionales Hispano-Americanas</i>. Santiago de Chile, 1919.</p> <p>Campaner y Fuertes. <i>Memorial Numismático Español</i>, Vol. II, 1868.</p> <p><i>Catálogo de la Colección de Monedas y Medallas de Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón</i>, Vol. III, Barcelona, 1892.</p> <p>Prosper Maillet. <i>Catalogue Descriptif des Monnaies Obsidionales et de Nécessité</i>, Bruxelles, 1870.</p> <p>Die Jules Fonrobert'sche Sammlung überseeischer Münzen. Sold by Adolph Weyl, Berlin, 1878.</p> <p>Sammlung des Herrn Georg F. Ulex, sold by Adolph Hess Nachfolger, Frankfurt, May 11, 1908.</p> <p>William S. Appleton Collection. Sold by Thos. L. Elder, New York, 1913.</p> <p>John Story Jenks Collection. Sold by Henry Chapman, Philadelphia, 1921.</p>
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TEGUCIGALPA

PLATE I



I



2



4



TEGUCIGALPA

PLATE II



5



7



8



TEGUCIGALPA

PLATE II



5



7



8



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 19



ALEXANDER HOARDS

DEMANHUR, 1905

By EDWARD T. NEWELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1923



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NUMISMATIC

NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

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ALEXANDER HOARDS

II DEMANHUR, 1905

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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	I
<p><i>Archaeology</i> <i>Amer. Numismatic Soc</i> 2-19-30. 21285</p> <h2>THE DEMANHUR HOARD</h2> <p>BY EDWARD T. NEWELL</p> <p>Although this famous hoard of Alexander tetradrachms has already been partially studied and described by the present writer in the <i>American Journal of Numismatics</i> for 1911 and 1912,¹ there are nevertheless serious reasons for occupying ourselves, once more, with this extraordinary find. In the first place, the hoard at that time was only treated incidentally in explaining some observations made by the author as to the use of dies and the signatures of magistrates at certain of Alexander's mints. The hoard is well worthy of more detailed attention than this. Also several thousand more coins from the find have since been seen and studied by the writer, and these contain about fifty important varieties not listed in the previous article. Finally, it</p>	
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	<p>is highly desirable that several erroneous statements, deductions, and attributions there made be now corrected in the light of a wider experience with the intricacies of the Alexander question. In those days the writer was but commencing his studies and was, naturally, only too ready to follow the lead of earlier writers, many of whose attributions have since proved fanciful.</p> <p>The material forming the basis of this study is composed of the following lots :</p> <p>I Such coins in the writer's own collection as came to him direct from the Demanhur deposit, mostly purchased in Egypt shortly after the hoard's discovery. Some of the duplicates in this lot have since been ceded by the writer to the British Museum, to the collection of the United States Mint in Philadelphia (since removed to the National Museum, Washington), and to certain private collectors.</p> <p>II The collection of Gen. Ronald Storrs, and Mr. F. Munroe Endicott. These two</p>
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<p>enthusiastic collectors of the Alexander coinage were fortunate to have been in Egypt, in the diplomatic service of their respective countries, in the days of the hoard's discovery. They early systematised their efforts and together were able to obtain specimens of practically every variety once contained in the find. Their collections were formed from the first pick of perhaps about four-fifths of the entire hoard.</p> <p>III A lot of over a thousand specimens secured by M. Étienne Bourgey of Paris. This was probably the only portion of the find which had not previously been culled by Gen. Storrs or Mr. Endicott, and so contained a few rare varieties not represented in their collections. The greater portion of this lot was later purchased by the present writer, though only after numerous specimens had been sold by M. Bourgey to various collectors. Among these were Dr. Pozzi of Paris, M. Pierre Saroglos of Athens, the British Museum, and others.</p>	
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	<p>IV A lot of over a thousand specimens which were brought back from Egypt by Mr. Azeez Khayat of this city. All of these coins, according to their general appearance and Mr. Khayat's express statement, once belonged to the Demanhur find. It was Mr. Khayat who first brought the hoard to the writer's attention.</p> <p>V Seventy tetradrachms in the Toronto Archaeological Museum which had been purchased by the Curator, Mr. C. T. Curelly, in Egypt at the time of the hoard's discovery.</p> <p>VI Several small lots in the stocks of various dealers abroad, such as J. Schulman of Amsterdam, Messrs. Spink & Son of London, Dr. Jacob Hirsch of Munich, and others. Of all these coins the writer either secured the actual specimens or casts.</p> <p>Many of the Alexander tetradrachms in the Th. Prowe Sale, Brüder Egger, Vienna, May, 1912, came originally from this hoard.</p>
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<p>VII A small group of tetradrachms in the Hermitage collection whose Demanhur provenance was kindly brought to my attention by the former curator, M. Alexis von Markoff.</p> <p>VIII Certain small lots actually owned or kindly brought to my attention by Prof. Milne, Mr. E. J. Seltman, Mr. Endicott, Rev. Jeremiah Zimmerman, and others.</p> <p>Lot III is now entirely dispersed, with the exception of about a dozen specimens in very fine condition. Lot IV also no longer exists as an entity. Those pieces which had been secured from it by Mrs. Draper, Mr. Thomas B. F. Curtis, as well as many purchased by Mr. T. L. Elder of this city, have since passed into the possession of the author. The remainder of Mr. Khayat's lot is now divided between the American Numismatic Society, Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett, Messrs. L. V. Case, V. Hammer, and the writer. Before disposing of his portion of Mr. Khayat's lot, Mr. Elder published a series of six plates</p>	
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	<p>in half tone showing the obverses and reverses of about 300 tetradrachms. It should be noted, however, that no. 98 on Plates I and II was not from the find at Demanhur. It is a tetradrachm of Ptolemy I (type of Svoronos no. 265) from a hoard of these coins found also in Egypt but at a slightly later date than the Demanhur hoard of Alexanders.</p> <p>This material, amounting in all to 4826 specimens, constitutes what now remains to us of the great Demanhur hoard. That this, however, is not the entire find is certain. Nevertheless, in the writer's opinion, the material actually before us apparently comprises a very considerable portion of the original deposit.</p> <p>It is but natural that in the early days of the hoard's discovery extravagant rumors concerning its size should have been current in Egypt, and generally believed in. The somewhat unusual occurrence of many thousand Alexander tetradrachms suddenly appearing upon the market not unnaturally gave the impression of a very much greater number having been found.</p>
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<p>From impression to assertion is no very great step—and a good story seldom loses in the telling. Besides, the greater the find the more thrilling is the tale of treasure-trove. Above all, in Egypt one has grown accustomed by actual experience to the unearthing of extraordinarily large hoards of ancient coin.² It is evidently thus that the statement (given credit to everywhere in Egypt) that the Demanhur find contained perhaps about fifteen thousand coins, and even twenty thousand or more, first gained currency. The writer's personal experience, based on two trips to Egypt and many years' acquaintance with collectors and dealers the world over, has made him somewhat skeptical of these large figures. In spite of a most diligent search, now continued over the space of more than fourteen years, no more than the above-mentioned 4826 specimens, which can be definitely traced to Demanhur, have been brought to light. In addition, he has seen perhaps some two or three hundred pieces (dispersed among the trays of various dealers and collectors) whose</p>	
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	<p>appearance and previous history might suggest an assignment to our hoard. But because of the uncertainty they have not been included in our study.</p> <p>Doubtless many of the Demanhur coins were bought up by tourists in Egypt during the days when the coins were on the market—and such are probably definitely lost to us now. It is possible that others were exported to Syria to supply a demand there, and the writer has indeed heard several statements to this effect. It is also quite probable that many of the poorer specimens were even melted down for their bullion value. To the writer's own knowledge this actually did happen to a considerable portion of a large hoard of Athenian tetradrachms when their numbers and the comparatively restricted demand threatened a glut on the market. That this fate overtook any very large number of the Demanhur Alexanders cannot be proved, nor has the writer heard of any statement to that effect. The hoard apparently contained very few pieces disfigured by the punchmarks and counter-</p>
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<p>stamps so often occurring on Greek coins found in Egypt. To suppose that all such coins had been picked out and melted down before the remainder was placed on the market is hardly reasonable. There is always a certain demand for coins of Alexander the Great, not only by collectors but also by noncollectors and tourists to whom the name of Alexander ever makes a strong appeal. The writer would not therefore place at any very high figure the number of Demanhur coins melted for their bullion, though he does not thereby mean to deny that this might not have happened to some.</p> <p>The most conservative estimates secured by the writer have always averaged around the figure ten thousand for the total number of coins once contained in the hoard. Unfortunately the original finders have never been discovered and it is they alone who would be in any position to know the real number of the coins found. The hoard in its entirety apparently never passed through the hands of any one person, with the result that we shall probably never</p>	
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	<p>know the exact number of pieces it once contained. If, however, to the definite number of 4826 which we now possess we should add the very generous allowance of 2500, or even 3000, to cover such pieces as have disappeared in the trade or been melted down, it seems to the writer that we would have a figure tolerably close to the original number.</p> <p>Concerning the actual find-spot of the hoard nothing new has been ascertained since the previous article. Sig. Dattari's account, kindly supplied to the writer in 1911, still holds good — though it might be well to modify somewhat, as we have seen, the probable number of coins found. In his letter Sig. Dattari stated that the find was made by natives, that its true <i>provenance</i> was impossible to determine, that it eventually fell into the hands of several merchants residing in Demanhur, and that it took its name from this latter fact. He further stated that the deposit, containing anywhere from ten to twenty thousand tetradrachms, had been divided into five parts "of several thousand coins each";</p>
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<p>and that of these, one part had been sent to Alexandria, the others to Cairo for disposal. Perhaps two of the groups (III and IV) described above represent two of these original divisions. If so, we then possess a slight corroboration of our suggestion that the hoard originally contained not more than some seven or eight thousand at the outside, as both M. Bourgey's and Mr. Khayat's lots numbered only a little over a thousand coins each.</p> <p>From a conversation on this subject recently held with M. Seymour de Ricci, who chanced to have been in Egypt engaged in his archaeological work at the time of the hoard's discovery, it seems probable, in his opinion, that the hoard was really found somewhere in the vicinity of Demanhur and that this occurred sometime towards the end of 1905. M. de Ricci is also under the impression that the hoard contained over ten thousand coins, but states that he possesses no definite information upon which to base an opinion, other than hearsay and the statements current in Egypt at the time.</p>	
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	<p>Although an unkind fate has willed it that the great Demanhur hoard should have been broken up and largely scattered before it became accessible for study, our loss has been partially made good by the fact that, in all probability, we now know every variety it once contained. This good fortune is almost entirely due to the circumstance that Mr. Endicott and Gen. Storrs had been actively collecting in Egypt not very long after the great find was made. They displayed such an indefatigable enthusiasm and persistency in acquiring all varieties possible for their collections that few indeed can have escaped them. The present study would have been all but impossible, certainly it would have lost much of its scientific value, had it not been for the kind assistance and the access to their collections so readily granted by these gentlemen. Their collections, when combined, furnished practically all the varieties listed in the following pages. The remainder occurred either in that portion of III which M. Bourgey sold to the writer, or among the specimens</p>
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<p>which Dr. Pozzi, M. Saroglos, and the British Museum had previously selected from the same source.</p> <p>The material at our disposal has here been divided among the nine large geographical divisions in which there were active mints during the reigns of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. These are: Macedonia, the Peloponnese, the Propontis, South-western Asia Minor, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria including Phoenicia, Babylonia, and Egypt. Under these headings the coins have been again subdivided into series, each series attributable to one mint. This division of the material before us has been governed by a close study of the style, fabric, and appearance of the coins themselves.</p> <p>The mass of material placed at our disposal by such a find as that of Demanhur makes it comparatively simple to sort the coins into greater or lesser groups which are easily distinguishable, the one from the other, by marked differences in style and fabric. It is obvious that within the boundaries of each larger district of</p>	
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	<p>the ancient world there had flourished, for many years, local schools of art exercising undoubted influence upon the die-cutters of that particular region. By the time of Alexander's arrival the technique and style peculiar to the local mint establishments had become crystallized into a more or less hard and fast tradition. As Alexander in each case apparently employed the local die cutters and mint appliances for the issue of his own coin, we are thereby greatly assisted in sorting and attributing, with a fair amount of accuracy and probability, the greater portion of his coins—although they all bear uniform types whether struck in Macedonia or distant Babylon. For Macedonia, then, we find a strong, vigorous, but heavy (one might say almost turgid) style. Though there is an unmistakable similarity throughout the entire product of the Macedonian mints, it soon becomes evident that die cutters of very diverse ability were working at one and the same time under the influence of a local style and tradition.</p> <p>The Peloponnesian issues show a higher</p>
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<p>degree of art and a finer workmanship, but it seems evident that the die-cutters were accustomed to work on a smaller scale than that of the Attic tetradrachm. It is a fact that the contemporary gold staters and distaters of Alexander from this mint are much more pleasing and successful as works of art than the larger tetradrachms.</p> <p>The issues of the Hellespontine region are reminiscent of the preceding autonomous coinages of this district; while the issues for Caria and Lydia show to a striking degree the delicate and graceful influence of Ionian artists. The Heracles head of the obverse has the soft contours and delicate modelling of that school, hardly suitable for the brawny hero of mythology. The Zeus figure on the reverse is a dainty specimen of gem engraving. On the whole, while these coins show a perfection of ability and technique that is very attractive, they lack the vigor of the ruder Macedonian products.</p> <p>The Cilician and North Syrian issues are, at first, merely copies of the immediately preceding satrapal coins struck here</p>	
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	<p>by Mazaeus and other Persian governors.³ There can be no doubt but that the same die-cutters continued to work for Alexander after his conquest of these districts.</p> <p>On the Island of Cyprus—as is only natural in view of its geographical position and commercial relations—we find a curious blending of the Greek art of Asia Minor, the eastern art of Cilicia, and the technical appliances and customs (fixed dies, etc.) of Phoenicia.</p> <p>The typically oriental style of the earlier Phoenician coinages was carried over onto the succeeding Alexandrine issues. Combined with this style there were also continued in use the local customs of each mint. Thus, unlike the other Phoenician mints, the Aradian issues were struck from loose dies as had always been the practice here; the coins of Byblus bear the abbreviated name of the local king; while the Sidonian issues are struck from fixed or adjusted dies and bear the regnal years of the reigning prince. At all of these mints we find the local style continuing to develop independently, up to a certain point. Later</p>
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it became influenced by the beautiful style of the coins emanating from the mint at Egyptian Alexandria.

The Alexander issues of Babylon are conspicuous for a style and character all their own, and destined to exercise a great and far spreading influence on the later coinages of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and even portions of Asia Minor.

For the newly opened mint at Alexandria in Egypt its great founder seems to have secured Greek artists of first rate ability. Their productions are well worthy the future fame of what was destined to become one of the greatest art centres of the ancient world. The dies that were here produced are exceedingly handsome, perhaps the finest to be found in the entire Alexander series. These beautiful coins found instant approval at the many coining centres of the eastern Mediterranean and were soon being used as models in Byblus, Berytus Sidon, Ake, Citium, Amathus, and at several other as yet unidentified mints of the neighboring districts.

Thus we are enabled to distinguish by

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	<p>means of certain well defined lines of divergence, various groups in the general mass of the Alexander coinage. It is further quite possible, by paying strict attention to minor details of style and technique, and above all to the sequence of dies and their use in consecutive issues, to subdivide these larger groups into their component series—each series the issue of a single mint. Unfortunately it often proves to be a much more delicate matter to suggest the name of the mint itself. Under Alexander and his immediate successors there are only isolated cases where special monograms or symbols are used to designate the mint of a certain issue.</p> <p>It is distinctly noticeable that only the semi-autonomous city-states of Phoenicia and Cyprus were allowed thus to sign their respective coin-issues of the Alexander type. We are therefore led to suppose that the use of special marks of origin show these coinages to be a municipal rather than an imperial undertaking. The remaining Alexander coinages of this time were evidently struck under the jurisdic-</p>
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<p>tion of imperially appointed officers in such provincial mints as were at the command of the central government (either of that particular province or satrapy, or of the empire as a whole). Therefore only the monograms and symbols of the responsible mint officials appear upon the coins.</p> <p>As stated above, by means of style we are indeed able to distinguish the issues of the larger geographical units. Where only one mint was in operation in a single province the name of this mint can then be determined with comparative ease, but where there were evidently two or more mints in operation at the same time, the problem immediately becomes more complicated and difficult of solution. Now the superintendents of a particular coinage, as we have seen, guaranteed their issues by placing the monogram of their name, or some personal symbol, in the field of the coin issued by them. Alexander's empire, by its very nature, was such a cosmopolitan institution that little can therefore be gained by paying attention to the seeming local significance of any <i>one</i> of these sym-</p>	
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	<p>bols. A Greek magistrate in some eastern mint might conceivably choose as his private mark the symbol of his native town—but this evidently furnishes us no clue whatsoever to the actual city in which his coin was really struck. Again, the symbols chosen are, as a rule, quite banal, such as thunderbolt, caduceus, amphora, club, etc., etc. These might have been used anywhere in the ancient world. In certain instances something may be gained by an intensive study of a whole series of such magistrates' symbols appearing on coins which, by their style, must have come from one mint—but this is an uncertain clue to follow and usually leads to ambiguous results.</p> <p>In view of these difficulties and the true scope of the present articles on Alexander hoards,⁴ we can only outline the reasons for assigning the various series to certain mints, or, failing this, to show briefly why no mint name can as yet be suggested. In other words, the discussion of attributions here must be looked upon as merely something in the nature of notes. The</p>
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<p>present series of articles is primarily intended, as stated in the introduction, to place on record unpublished or otherwise important finds of Alexander coins, rather than to be a final treatment of the whole subject. These articles, in fact, are but the basis for such a treatment.</p> <p>In arranging the following list of the Demanhur coins the first column will be found to contain the serial numbers of the coins, while the second column gives us the number of specimens found of each particular variety. The third column is devoted to the symbol or monogram which distinguishes each variety, and the fourth column gives the reference to Müller's <i>Les Monnaies d'Alexandre le Grand</i>, Copenhagen, 1855. In this column a dash indicates the absence of that particular variety in Müller's work, though the coin may have since been published by one of the many students in our field. In the cases of Tarsus, Myriandrus, Sidon, and Ake the writer's own numbers have been substituted in the place of Müller's, as for these mints the latter's list has proved to be very in-</p>	
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	<p>adequate. In the fifth column are found references to the plates. In the case of the present publication the plate numbers are in Roman capitals as I, II, etc., while the plate numbers in Arabic numerals refer to the writer's previous study of the Demanhur hoard. The sixth and last column contains the indications of the general condition of the coins of each variety as found in our hoard. For this purpose the following abbreviations have been adopted: W (worn) to denote coins that have seen a greater amount of circulation, though it must be remembered that none of the coins in the find were worn really smooth; VG (very good) to designate coins that are well preserved though they may have been in circulation for some time; F (fine) and VF (very fine) to denote coins that are practically uncirculated; B (brilliant) to designate coins apparently fresh from the mint with their surfaces still sharp and brilliant.</p> <p>On the whole the condition of the coins in the Demanhur deposit averages very high indeed. Not only had the majority of the coins seen comparatively little cir-</p>
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<p>culatation when their former owner consigned them to the earth, but since then the deleterious action of time and the salts in the ground have affected but few. There are indeed certain specimens from the find which are covered with a heavy agglomeration of thick purple oxide, as shown on Plate I, nos. 1-3. Many of these also had fragments of terra cotta embedded in the oxide. But the majority of the Demanhur coins had only a very thin coating of oxide, and that usually merely in spots, while the remainder still present their original appearance at the time they were buried nearly twenty-two and a half centuries ago.</p> <p>From the foregoing considerations it seems likely that the Demanhur coins were once contained in several terra cotta jars. One of these had evidently, in the course of centuries, become very badly broken, thus allowing water and the various chemicals in the earth to attack its contents. Those coins which lay nearest the sides of the jar gradually became heavily coated with oxide, in one or two cases — as noted</p>	
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	<p>by the writer — several coins coalescing into one conglomerate mass. To some of these, furthermore, fragments of the broken jar still continue to adhere. The coins which lay in the centre of the jar's contents were apparently but slightly attacked. On the other hand, one or more of the companion jars must have remained absolutely intact throughout the centuries, in order to account for the exceptionally splendid condition in which such a large proportion of the coins still are to this day.</p> <p>Returning to our lists, it has already been stated that the entire material presented by the hoard is divided according to the provinces of Alexander's empire. The issues of each mint have again been divided into groups and series, approximate dates being assigned to them wherever possible. As we are limiting ourselves, in the following pages, strictly to the coins actually contained in the find it will not always be possible to discuss the dates in detail — that will have to be deferred until a larger number of the Alexander hoards will have been published and so made available to all.</p>
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<p>As the types of the Alexander tetradrachms remain constant throughout, it will not be necessary to describe each coin. In general, then, we find a young head of Heracles on the obverse turned to the right. In the rare cases where the head faces to the left special mention will be made of that fact. On the reverse the seated Zeus invariably faces to the left. As a general rule Müller's observation⁵ still holds good, namely, that on the earlier issues the legs of Zeus are placed parallel to each other, on the later the right foot is drawn back and is to be seen behind the left. But this diversity of position had not ceased by the time of Alexander's death, and the older type is often found continuing in certain mints until well into the third century B. C. The kingly title appears on a great many of the Demanhur coins and its presence is always specially noted in the catalogue.</p>	
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NUMISMATIC NOTES		CATALOGUE OF THE VARIETIES IN THE DEMANHUR HOARD. MACEDONIA. Mint: AMPHIPOLIS. Group A, circa 336 to 334 B. C.					
No.	Speci- mens.	Monogram or Symbol In field.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.		
1-	4	PROW (to r.)	—	I (1)	W to F		
5-	51	PROW (to l.)	503	I ₁ '(3)	"		
56-	35	STERN	758	I (7)	"		
91-	41	DOUBLE HEAD	853	I (4, 8)	"		
132-	19	FULMEN	3	I (2, 5)	"		
151-	8	RUDDER (upright)	—	I (6)	"		
159-	3	RUDDER (downwards)	—	II, I	"		




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		Group B, <i>circa</i> 333 and 332 B. C.			
162-	36 AMPHORA	527	1 (9, 10)	W to F	
198-	31 BUNCH OF GRAPES	306	2 (7, 9)	"	
229-	11 WREATH	548	2 (2)	"	
240-	3 STYLIS	—	II, 2	"	
243-	4 ATTIC HELMET	191	2 (4)	"	
247-	7 CADUCEUS	207	2 (10)	"	
254-	12 CANTHARUS	194	1 (11)	"	
266-	36 IVY LEAF	244	2 (6)	"	
		Group C, <i>circa</i> 331 B. C.			
302-	15 QUIVER	var. 591	3 (2)	VG to F	
317-	10 EAR OF BARLEY	"	3 (6)	"	
327-	5 TRIDENT	"	3 (3)	"	
332-	8 FILLETED CADUCEUS	—	3 (1)	"	
340-	21 FOREPART OF PEGASUS	602	3 (7)	"	
361-	12 BOW (plain)	—	3 (8)	"	
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Group D, circa 330 and 329 B. C.					
No.	Spec.	In field.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
373-	22	EAGLE'S HEAD	—	3 (10)	VG to F
395-	27	SHIELD	223	4 (6)	"
422-	4	CLUB	var. 135	4 (7)	"
426	1	M and CADUCEUS	—	II, 3	"
427-	28	CLUB and Σ	—	4 (3)	"
455-	17	CLUB and Ω	138	4 (2)	"
472-	9	CADUCEUS Σ	—	4 (4)	"
481-	9	CADUCEUS Ω	—	4 (8)	"
490-	11	HORSE'S HEAD	528	5 (3)	"
501-	8	STAR	—	4 (10)	"
509-	5	DOLPHIN	var. 539	5 (5)	"
514-	6	APLUSTRE	281	5 (6)	"
NUMISMATIC NOTES					

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR				29	
		Group E, circa 328 and 327 B. C.					
520	I	ROSE	116	5 (7)	VG to F		
521-	8	PENTALPHA	378	6 (9)	"		
529-	7	I	—	—	"		
536-	43	E	181	6 (3)	"		
579-	35	CRESCENT	259	5 (9)	"		
614-	42	CADUCEUS	var. 207	6 (6)	"		
656-	60	BUCRANIUM	97	6 (7)	"		
716-	76	HERM	366	5 (10)	"		
792-	103	COCK	392	5 (8)	"		
		Group F, circa 326 B. C.					
895-	14	STAR IN CIRCLE	153	8 (1)	VG to VF		
909-	58	CORNUCOPIAE	368	8 (2)	"		
967-	47	PALLAS PROMACHOS	649	8 (3)	"		
1014-	29	BOW AND QUIVER	591	8 (4)	"		

30	ALEXANDER HOARDS																																																											
<div> <div> Group G, circa 325 B. C. Inscribed: </div> <div> <div> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. </div> <table> <tr> <th>No.</th> <th>Spec.</th> <th>In field.</th> <th>Müller.</th> <th>Plate.</th> <th>Condition.</th> </tr> <tr> <td>1043-</td> <td>57</td> <td>CORNUCOPIAE</td> <td>369</td> <td>9 (5, 8, 9, 11)</td> <td>F to VF</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1100-</td> <td>68</td> <td>PALLAS PROMACHOS</td> <td>650</td> <td>9 (4, 12)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1168-</td> <td>42</td> <td>BOW AND QUIVER</td> <td>592</td> <td>9 (6, 7, 10)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> </table> </div> </div> <div> <div> Group H, circa 324 and 323 B. C. Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. </div> <table> <tr> <td>1210-</td> <td>41</td> <td>ANTLER</td> <td>—</td> <td>10 (4, 7, 9)</td> <td>VF to B</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1251-</td> <td>93</td> <td>MACEDONIAN HELMET</td> <td>224</td> <td>10 (5, 8)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1344-</td> <td>112</td> <td>PHRYGIAN CAP</td> <td>854</td> <td>10 (6, 10)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1456-</td> <td>2</td> <td>TRIDENT</td> <td>—</td> <td>11 (4)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1458-</td> <td>13</td> <td>TRIPOD</td> <td>146</td> <td>12 (2)</td> <td>"</td> </tr> </table> </div>							No.	Spec.	In field.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.	1043-	57	CORNUCOPIAE	369	9 (5, 8, 9, 11)	F to VF	1100-	68	PALLAS PROMACHOS	650	9 (4, 12)	"	1168-	42	BOW AND QUIVER	592	9 (6, 7, 10)	"	1210-	41	ANTLER	—	10 (4, 7, 9)	VF to B	1251-	93	MACEDONIAN HELMET	224	10 (5, 8)	"	1344-	112	PHRYGIAN CAP	854	10 (6, 10)	"	1456-	2	TRIDENT	—	11 (4)	"	1458-	13	TRIPOD	146	12 (2)	"
No.	Spec.	In field.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.																																																							
1043-	57	CORNUCOPIAE	369	9 (5, 8, 9, 11)	F to VF																																																							
1100-	68	PALLAS PROMACHOS	650	9 (4, 12)	"																																																							
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1210-	41	ANTLER	—	10 (4, 7, 9)	VF to B																																																							
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1458-	13	TRIPOD	146	12 (2)	"																																																							
	NUMISMATIC NOTES																																																											

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR				31
Group I, <i>circa</i> 322 and 321 B. C. Inscribed as Group H.		1471- 1488- 1512-	17 24 26		862 12 (3, 7) 863 12 (4, 5) 860 12 (8, 10)	VF to B " "
Group J, <i>circa</i> 320 and 319 B. C. Inscribed as Group H.		Symbol in field. Beneath throne.				
1538-	3	EAR OF BARLEY	567	II, 4	All B	
1541-	10	EAR OF BARLEY  ,  , or 	570, 572	12 (12)	"	
1551-	12	CRESCENT* 	261	13 (4)	"	
1563	1	SPRIG OF LAUREL	559	13 (1)	'	
1564-	18	SPRIG OF LAUREL 	560	12 (11)	"	
* The crescent is represented with its concave side to left, to right, or downwards.						

























	32	ALEXANDER HOARDS				
		Group K, <i>circa</i> 318 B. C. Inscribed as Group H.				
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
1582	1		A	859	16	B
MACEDONIA.						
Mint : PELLA.						
<i>circa</i> 336 to 320 B. C. or later.						
Group A.						
1583-	3			836	16 (3)	VG to F
1586-	5	BEE AND ROSE		856	16 (4)	"
1591-	4			762	16 (5)	"
Group B.						
1595-	2	BEE		507	—	F
1597-	2		Θ	—	—	VG to F
NUMISMATIC NOTES						

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR		33
On the following two varieties the head of Heracles faces to the left.				
1599-	2 BEE	—	III, 1	F
1601-	3	—	III, 2	F
		Θ		
		Group C.		
1604-	19	197	16 (6)	VG to F
1623	1 No mint mark whatsoever.	—	—	F
1624-	4 BEE (flying to l.)	—	—	F
1628-	3 TRIDENT	—	III, 3	F
1631	1	98	—	F
1632	1 BEE	—	—	F
		BUCRANIUM		
		A		
		Group D.		
1633-	2 TRIDENT, Σ.	—	17 (2)	B
1635-	2 CICADA, A.	—	—	B
		* This variety differs from nos. 1597-1598 in having broader flans and exhibiting a slightly more advanced style.		

34	ALEXANDER HOARDS																																									
	<div> <div>Group E.</div> <div>Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ</div> <table> <tr> <th>No.</th> <th>Spec.</th> <th>In field.</th> <th>Beneath throne.</th> <th>Müller.</th> <th>Plate.</th> <th>Condition.</th> </tr> <tr> <td>1637</td> <td>I</td> <td>CICADA, A.</td> <td></td> <td>—</td> <td>—</td> <td>B</td> </tr> </table> <div>Group F.</div> <table> <tr> <td>1638</td> <td>I</td> <td>THUNDERBOLT</td> <td></td> <td>3</td> <td>III, 4</td> <td>B</td> </tr> </table> <hr/> <div>MACEDONIA OR THESSALY.</div> <div>Uncertain Mint.</div> <table> <tr> <td>1639-</td> <td>10</td> <td>ATTIC HELMET</td> <td>AΣ</td> <td>1472</td> <td>16 (7)</td> <td>F to VF</td> </tr> </table> <hr/> <div>PELOPONNESUS.</div> <div>Mint: SICYON.</div> <table> <tr> <td>1649-</td> <td>18</td> <td>YOUTH WITH OUTSTRETCHED ARMS</td> <td>637</td> <td>16 (1, 2), IV, I</td> <td></td> <td>VG</td> </tr> </table> </div>							No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.	1637	I	CICADA, A.		—	—	B	1638	I	THUNDERBOLT		3	III, 4	B	1639-	10	ATTIC HELMET	AΣ	1472	16 (7)	F to VF	1649-	18	YOUTH WITH OUTSTRETCHED ARMS	637	16 (1, 2), IV, I		VG
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.																																				
1637	I	CICADA, A.		—	—	B																																				
1638	I	THUNDERBOLT		3	III, 4	B																																				
1639-	10	ATTIC HELMET	AΣ	1472	16 (7)	F to VF																																				
1649-	18	YOUTH WITH OUTSTRETCHED ARMS	637	16 (1, 2), IV, I		VG																																				
	NUMISMATIC NOTES																																									

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR		
1667-	3	GOAT'S HEAD	—	16 (9)
1670-	2	EAR OF BARLEY	—	16 (8)
		Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.		
1672	1	MACEDONIAN SHIELD	—	16 (10)
		Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ only.		
1673-	3	MACEDONIAN SHIELD	—	—
REGION OF THE PROPONTIS.				
Various Mints.				
1676-	7	HERMES	Ξ	17 (12)
1683	1	HERMES	Η	—
1684	1	PALM TREE	Π	17 (11)
1685	1	CADUCEUS	Α	17 (4)
				35

36		ALEXANDER HOARDS				
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
1686	1	CADUCEUS		—	IV, 2	G
1687-	2	ARTEMIS		—	17 (7)	VG
1689-	13	ARTEMIS	⚔	397	17 (8)	VG to F
Similar to the preceding but of later style.						
1702-	46	ARTEMIS	⚔	397	17 (9, 10)	F to B
<hr/>						
LYDIA.						
Mint: SARDES.						
<i>circa</i> 333 to 324 B. C.						
1748	1	BUCRANIUM		var. 97	17 (1)	B
1749	1	MITHRA HEAD	TRISCELIS	1279	—	F
1750	1		⚔	838	16 (12)	B
NUMISMATIC NOTES						

DEMANHUR							37																																																								
<p>CARIA.</p> <p>Mint: MILETUS.</p> <p><i>circa 330 to 320, or later.</i></p> <table><tr><td>1751-</td><td>2</td><td></td><td>FULMEN</td><td>—</td><td>IV, 3</td><td>F</td></tr><tr><td>1753-</td><td>2</td><td>FULMEN</td><td></td><td>10</td><td>29 (10)</td><td>F</td></tr><tr><td>1755-</td><td>20</td><td>EAR OF BARLEY</td><td></td><td>—</td><td>18 (9)</td><td>VF to B</td></tr><tr><td>1775-</td><td>19</td><td></td><td></td><td>—</td><td>18 (11)</td><td>"</td></tr><tr><td>1794-</td><td>4</td><td></td><td></td><td>—</td><td>18 (12)</td><td>"</td></tr><tr><td>1798-</td><td>15</td><td></td><td></td><td>1599</td><td>18 (10)</td><td>B</td></tr><tr><td>1813-</td><td>6</td><td></td><td></td><td>—</td><td>IV, 4</td><td>B</td></tr></table> <p>LYCIA OR PAMPHYLIA.</p> <p>Mint: PHASELIS OR SIDE.</p> <p>Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.</p> <table><tr><td>1819-</td><td>106</td><td>WREATH</td><td></td><td>550</td><td>30 (4)</td><td>VG to VF</td></tr></table>							1751-	2		FULMEN	—	IV, 3	F	1753-	2	FULMEN		10	29 (10)	F	1755-	20	EAR OF BARLEY		—	18 (9)	VF to B	1775-	19			—	18 (11)	"	1794-	4			—	18 (12)	"	1798-	15			1599	18 (10)	B	1813-	6			—	IV, 4	B	1819-	106	WREATH		550	30 (4)	VG to VF	
1751-	2		FULMEN	—	IV, 3	F																																																									
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1775-	19			—	18 (11)	"																																																									
1794-	4			—	18 (12)	"																																																									
1798-	15			1599	18 (10)	B																																																									
1813-	6			—	IV, 4	B																																																									
1819-	106	WREATH		550	30 (4)	VG to VF																																																									
AND MONOGRAPHS																																																															

38		ALEXANDER HOARDS				
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller. Plate.	Condition.	
1925-	4		ΔΙ	216 —	F to VF	
1929-	15	ΔΙ	Ε	217 30 (5)	"	
1944-	6	ΑΙ	ΒΞ	1483 30 (6)	B	
1950-	2	-Β	"	1482 30 (7)	B	
1952-	14	ΦΙ	"	— 30 (8)	B	
1966-	3	"	ΛΥ	— V, 1	B	
1969-	2	"	ΛΞ	—	B	
1971-	2	"	Λ	1478 V, 2	B	
Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.						
1973	I		Ⓜ	133 V, 3	B	
		NUMISMATIC NOTES				

AND MONOGRAPHS		CILICIA.					DEMANHUR	
		Mint: TARSUS. First Series, <i>circa</i> 333 to 328 B. C. "Officina A"						
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Behind Zeus.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.		
1974-	6		•	1	19 (1)	W to F		
1980-	62		A	3	19 (2)	"		
2042-	3	TRIDENT	"	5	—	"		
2045-	17		•	6	24 (11)	"		
2062	1		"	7	—	"		
2063-	10		•	8	—	"		
2073-	17		A	9	24 (12)	"		
		"Officina B"						
2090-	6	(no letter or pellet)		2	19 (3)	W to F		

40	ALEXANDER HOARDS						
	No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Behind Zeus. Newell. Plate.	Condition.	
	2096-	66		B	4 19 (4)	W to F	
	2162-	25		B	10 19 (5)	"	
	Second Series, circa 327 to 324 B. C.						
	2187-	6	PLOW	Γ, B	20 20 (5)	VG to F	
	2193-	3	"	Γ	21 20 (4)	"	
	2196-	32	"		25 20 (2)	"	
	2228-	4	"	•	26 —	"	
	2232-	33	"	•	27 20 (1)	"	
	2265-	44	"	Θ	29 20 (3)	"	
	2309	1	"	"	30 —	"	
	2310-	2	"	IVY LEAF (upright)	32 20 (8)	F to VF	
	2312	1	"	" (downwards)	33 —	"	
	2313-	2	"	BUNCH OF GRAPES	34 —	"	
	2315-	7	"	☼	35 20 (6)	"	
	2322-	5	"	☼	36 20 (7)	"	
	NUMISMATIC NOTES						

Third Series, circa 323 to 319 B. C.					
Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.					
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.
2327-	7	PLOW		39 20 (9)	F to VF
2334-	4	"	Θ	40 20 (10)	"
2338-	7	ΔΡ	"	41 20 (11, 12)	F to B
2345-	4	NIKE	Α	42 21 (1)	"
2349-	21	"	Α	43 21 (2)	"
2370-	18	"	Α, Θ	47 21 (3)	"
2388-	11	"	" , ζ	49 —	"
2399	1	" & CADUCEUS	Ε, ζ	51 —	"
2400-	15	" "	" Θ	53 21 (6)	"
2415-	3	" , B, &	Ε	56 —	"
2418-	7	" " "	" (B on obv.)	57 21 (4)	"
DEMANHUR					
AND MONOGRAPHS					
41					

40	ALEXANDER HOARDS						
	No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Behind Zeus.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.
	2096-	66		B		4 19 (4)	W to F
	2162-	25		B		10 19 (5)	"
	Second Series, circa 327 to 324 B. C.						
	2187-	6	PLOW	Γ, B	•	20 20 (5)	VG to F
	2193-	3	"	Γ	•	21 20 (4)	"
	2196-	32	"		•	25 20 (2)	"
	2228-	4	"	•		26 —	"
	2232-	33	"	•	•	27 20 (1)	"
	2265-	44	"	Θ	•	29 20 (3)	"
	2309	1	"	"	•	30 —	"
	2310-	2	"	IVY LEAF (upright)		32 20 (8)	F to VF
	2312	1	"	" (downwards)		33 —	"
	2313-	2	"	BUNCH OF GRAPES		34 —	"
	2315-	7	"	⚰		35 20 (6)	"
	2322-	5	"	⚰		36 20 (7)	"
	NUMISMATIC NOTES						

Third Series, circa 323 to 319 B. C.					
Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.					
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.
2327-	7	PLOW		39 20 (9)	F to VF
2334-	4	"	Θ	40 20 (10)	"
2338-	7	Π	"	41 20 (11, 12)	F to B
2345-	4	NIKE	ΙΑ	42 21 (1)	"
2349-	21	"	Α	43 21 (2)	"
2370-	18	"	Α, Θ	47 21 (3)	"
2388-	11	"	" , ζ	49 —	"
2399	1	" & CADUCEUS	Ε, ζ	51 —	"
2400-	15	" "	" Θ	53 21 (6)	"
2415-	3	" , B, &	Ε	56 —	"
2418-	7	" " "	" (B on obv.)	57 21 (4)	"
DEMANHUR					
AND MONOGRAPHS					
41					

42	ALEXANDER HOARDS																																																																																				
	<table><tr><th>No.</th><th>Spec.</th><th>In field.</th><th>Beneath throne.</th><th>Newell. Plate.</th><th>Condition.</th></tr><tr><td>2425-</td><td>3</td><td>NIKE, Θ, & CADUCEUS</td><td>E</td><td>58 —</td><td>F to B</td></tr><tr><td>2428-</td><td>8</td><td>" " " " " "</td><td>" "</td><td>59 21 (5)</td><td>"</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6"><hr/></td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">CYPRUS.</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">Mint: SALAMIS.</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">Series I, circa 330 to 320 B. C.</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">Müller.</td></tr><tr><td>2436-</td><td>9</td><td>BOW (composite)</td><td>B</td><td>1288 21 (10)</td><td>W to VG</td></tr><tr><td>2445-</td><td>44</td><td>" "</td><td>"</td><td>1287 21 (11)</td><td>"</td></tr><tr><td>2489-</td><td>55</td><td>" (composite and large)</td><td>"</td><td>— 21 (12)</td><td>VG to F</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">Series II, after circa 320 B. C.</td></tr><tr><td colspan="6">Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.</td></tr><tr><td>2544</td><td>I</td><td>RUDDER</td><td></td><td>80 —</td><td>B</td></tr></table>	No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.	2425-	3	NIKE, Θ, & CADUCEUS	E	58 —	F to B	2428-	8	" " " " " "	" "	59 21 (5)	"	<hr/>						CYPRUS.						Mint: SALAMIS.						Series I, circa 330 to 320 B. C.						Müller.						2436-	9	BOW (composite)	B	1288 21 (10)	W to VG	2445-	44	" "	"	1287 21 (11)	"	2489-	55	" (composite and large)	"	— 21 (12)	VG to F	Series II, after circa 320 B. C.						Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.						2544	I	RUDDER		80 —	B
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.																																																																																
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2544	I	RUDDER		80 —	B																																																																																
	NUMISMATIC NOTES																																																																																				

AND MONOGRAPHS	<p style="text-align: center;">Mint: CITIUM.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>circa</i> 332 to 320 B. C.</p> <p>a) Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ (sic!) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>2545 I K</p> <p>2546- 73 K</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>— —</p> <p>1294 21 (8)</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>W</p> <p>W to F</p> </div> </div> <p>b) Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.*</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>2619- 48 K</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>1294 21 (9)</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>F to B</p> </div> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: PAPHOS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Series I, circa</i> 330 to 325 B. C.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>2667 I DOVE</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>183 V, 4</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>VG</p> </div> </div> <p>* Towards the close of this issue the ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ are transposed and the latter appears in the exergue.</p>	43
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44

ALEXANDER HOARDS

Series II, circa 325 to 320 B. C.

No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller. Plate.	Condition.
2668	1			— 18 (1)	F
2669-	2	"	ROSE	— 18 (3)	F
2671-	4	"	BEE	512 18 (2)	F

Series III, circa 320 and later.

Inscribed: ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

2675-	3		LAUREL SPRIG	562 —	VF to B
2678-	5	"	EAR OF BARLEY	— 18 (4)	"

Mint: AMATHUS.

Series I, circa 328 B. C., or later.

Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

2683	1	FLYING DOVE and	• *	— VI, I	VG
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NUMISMATIC NOTES

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR				45
Series II, after <i>circa</i> 325 B. C.		Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ only.				
2684-	19	PROW	—	—	F	
2703-	5	"	—	30 (11)	F to VF	
2708-	2	"	—	—	F	
2710	1	"	—	—	F	
2711-	4	" (later style)	—	30 (12)	B	
		Mint: MARIUM.				
		Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.				
2715	1	FULMEN	—	18 (5)	VG	
		Mint: SOLI (?).				
2716-	3	CADUCEUS	—	18 (6)	B	

46	ALEXANDER HOARDS																																									
<p>NORTHERN SYRIA.</p> <p>Mint: MYRIANDRUS.</p> <p>Series I, <i>circa</i> 333 to 330 B. C.</p> <table> <tr> <th>No.</th> <th>Spec.</th> <th>In field.</th> <th>Beneath throne.</th> <th>Newell. Plate.</th> <th>Condition.</th> </tr> <tr> <td>2719-</td> <td>2</td> <td>SCORPION</td> <td>Σ</td> <td>17 —</td> <td>VG</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2721-</td> <td>21</td> <td>"</td> <td>ME</td> <td>18 21 (7)</td> <td>VG to F</td> </tr> </table> <p>Series II, <i>circa</i> 329 B. C.</p> <p>Inscribed: BAΞIAEΩΞ AΛEΞANΔPO (<i>sic!</i>).</p> <table> <tr> <td>2742-</td> <td>2</td> <td>☞</td> <td>M</td> <td>19 19 (6)</td> <td>VG to F</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2744-</td> <td>22</td> <td>"</td> <td>M</td> <td>20 —</td> <td>"</td> </tr> </table> <p>Series III, <i>circa</i> 328 to 326 B. C.</p> <p>Inscribed: BAΞIAEΩΞ AΛEΞANΔPOY.</p> <table> <tr> <td>2766-</td> <td>4</td> <td>☞</td> <td>M</td> <td>21 19 (7)</td> <td>VG to F</td> </tr> </table>							No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.	2719-	2	SCORPION	Σ	17 —	VG	2721-	21	"	ME	18 21 (7)	VG to F	2742-	2	☞	M	19 19 (6)	VG to F	2744-	22	"	M	20 —	"	2766-	4	☞	M	21 19 (7)	VG to F
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.																																					
2719-	2	SCORPION	Σ	17 —	VG																																					
2721-	21	"	ME	18 21 (7)	VG to F																																					
2742-	2	☞	M	19 19 (6)	VG to F																																					
2744-	22	"	M	20 —	"																																					
2766-	4	☞	M	21 19 (7)	VG to F																																					
	NUMISMATIC NOTES																																									

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR	
2770-	26	Inscribed: AΛEΞANΔPOY only. ϛϛ 22 19 (8)	VG to F
2796-	24	Inscribed: BAΞIAEΩΞ AΛEΞANΔPOY. BAI ϛϛ 25 —	VG to F
2820-	15	Inscribed: AΛEΞANΔPOY only. BAI ϛϛ 26 19 (11)	VG to F
2835-	29	Series IV, circa 326 to 323 B. C. ϛϛ and ϛϛ 27 —	VG to F
2864-	5	“ and “ 28 —	“
2869-	6	“ and ϛϛ 29 19 (9)	“
2875-	16	Series V, circa 323 to 320 B. C. Inscribed: BAΞIAEΩΞ AΛEΞANΔPOY. BAI ϛϛ 31 19 (10)	F to B

	48	ALEXANDER HOARDS			
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.
2891-	2	BA	ⲙ	32 —	VF
2893-	2	MA	ⲙ	33 —	"
Series VI, circa 320 to 319 B. C.					
Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ					
2895	1	MA	HF	35 —	B
2896	1		A, MA	36 —	B
Mint: HIERAPOLIS-BAMBYCE (?).					
2897	1		M	— VI, 2	VG
COELE-SYRIA.					
Mint: DAMASCUS.					
Series I, circa 332 to 330 B. C.					
2898-	6	AX	ΔA	1345 —	VG
Müller.					
NUMISMATIC NOTES					

AND MONOGRAPHS			DEMANHUR		
2904-	5	\mathcal{R} X	Δ^A	—	W to VG
2909	1	"	Δ^A	—	"
2910-	7	"	Δ^A	1346 25 (1)	"
Series II, to circa 319 B. C.					
2917-	2	No symbol or letters		—	VG
2919-	57	RAM	Δ^A	1338 25 (7)	VG to B
2976-	75	"	Δ^A	1339	"
3051-	64	"	Δ^A	1340 25 (2)	"
3115-	66	"	Δ^A	—	"
3181-	63	"	Δ^A	—	"
3244-	2	"	Δ^A	—	"
3246	1	No symbol	Δ^A	—	F
3247-	3	RAM	Δ^A	—	F
3250-	4	"	Δ^A	1342 25 (5)	F
				1341	B

	50	ALEXANDER HOARDS				
NUMISMATIC NOTES		<div> <div> <div>No.</div> <div>Spec.</div> <div>In field.</div> <div>Beneath throne.</div> <div>Müller. Plate.</div> <div>Condition.</div> </div> <div> <div>3254-</div> <div>2</div> <div>RAM</div> <div>ΔA</div> <div>— 25 (4)</div> <div>VF to B</div> </div> <div> <div>3256-</div> <div>11</div> <div>"</div> <div>ΔA</div> <div>1344 25 (6)</div> <div>"</div> </div> </div> <div> <p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST.</p> <p>Mint: CARNE.</p> </div> <div> <div>3267</div> <div>1</div> <div>Κ</div> <div></div> <div>— 18 (7)</div> <div>VF</div> </div> <div> <p>Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.</p> </div> <div> <div>3268</div> <div>1</div> <div>Κ</div> <div></div> <div>— 18 (8)</div> <div>B</div> </div> <div> <p>Mint: ARADUS.</p> <p>Series I, to circa 330 B. C.</p> </div> <div> <div>3269-</div> <div>17</div> <div>Γ</div> <div>A</div> <div>— 22 (1)</div> <div>W to F</div> </div>				

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR				51
		<p>Series II, to <i>circa</i> 328 B. C.</p> <p>3 (on obverse: Δ) Α — 22 (4) VG to F</p> <p>3286- " M — 22 (5) "</p> <p>3289- " — — VG</p> <p>3300- — — —</p>				
		<p>Series III, to <i>circa</i> 319 B. C.</p> <p>Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.</p> <p>3302 I (on obverse: Β) Α — — VG</p> <p>3303- 3I " — 1360 22 (6) VG to F</p> <p>3334- 46 ζ " — 1364 22 (7, 8) "</p> <p>3380- 25 Λ " — 1362 22 (9, 10) "</p> <p>3405- 22 ξΩ " — 1363 23 (3) "</p> <p>3427- 3 Δ " — 1368 22 (11) F</p> <p>3430- 5 I " — 22 (12) W to F</p> <p>3435- 4 Α " — 23 (2) F to VF</p>				

	52	ALEXANDER HOARDS					
NUMISMATIC NOTES		<div> <div> <div>No.</div> <div>Spec.</div> <div>In field.</div> <div>Beneath throne.</div> <div>Müller.</div> <div>Plate.</div> <div>Condition.</div> </div> <div> <div>3439-</div> <div>21</div> <div>II</div> <div>⌘</div> <div>1361</div> <div>23 (1)</div> <div>F to VF</div> </div> <div> <div>3460-</div> <div>3</div> <div>"</div> <div>⌘</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>VF</div> </div> <div> <div>3463-</div> <div>3</div> <div>"</div> <div>⌘</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>B</div> </div> <div> <div>3466</div> <div>1</div> <div>"</div> <div>•⌘</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>B</div> </div> <div> <div>3467-</div> <div>119</div> <div>CADUCEUS</div> <div>⌘</div> <div>1370</div> <div>23 (4)</div> <div>VG to B</div> </div> </div> <div>Mint: BYBLUS.</div> <div>Series I, in the name of Enylus.</div> <div> <div>3586</div> <div>I</div> <div></div> <div>γ</div> <div>—</div> <div>VI, 3</div> <div>VG</div> </div> <div>Series II, in the name of Adramelek.</div> <div> <div>3587-</div> <div>37</div> <div>⌘</div> <div></div> <div>1375</div> <div>22 (2)</div> <div>VI, 4</div> <div>VG to F</div> </div> <div> <div>3624-</div> <div>29</div> <div>" (later style)</div> <div></div> <div>1375</div> <div>22 (3)</div> <div></div> <div>F to B</div> </div>					

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR		53
3653	1 O, B	Mint: BERYTUS. <i>circa</i> 320 B. C.	Al var. 1278 VII, 1	B
3654-	2 TROPHY	Mint: UNCERTAIN.	Φ — 30 (10)	B
		Mint: SIDON.		
		Series I, 332 and 331 B. C.		
3656-	11 λ	Newell.	8 24 (2)	W to VG
3667-	15 λ		9 24 (1)	"
		Series II, 331 to 327 B. C.		
3682-	43	Σ	15 23 (5)	W to VG
3725-	7	Σ1	16 23 (8)	"

54	ALEXANDER HOARDS				
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.
3732-	2	IVY LEAF	Σ	18 23 (6)	VG to F
3734-	2	GALLEY	ΣI	20 23 (7)	"
Series III, 327 to 323 B. C.					
3736-	3	I	ΣI	22 —	W
3739-	2	Π	"	24 23 (9)	VG
3741-	2	ⓓ	"	26 23 (10)	VG to F
3743-	10	,	"	32 23 (11)	"
Series IV, 323 to 320 B. C.					
3753-	2	K	ΣI	34 —	F
3755-	2	M	"	36 —	F
3757-	5	N	"	39 —	F to VF
Series V, 320 to 318 B. C.					
Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.					
3762-	4	N	ΣI	41 —	VF to B
	NUMISMATIC NOTES				

AND MONOGRAPHS				DEMANHUR			
3766-	2	Ξ	Σ I	43	—	VF to B	
3768	1	O	"	45	23 (12)	B	
Mint: AKE.							
Series I, circa 332 to 330 B. C.							
3769-	8	THUNDERBOLT		1	24 (3)	W to VG	
3777-	6		M	2	—	"	
3783-	15		M	3	24 (5)	"	
3798-	7		ΣΩ	4	24 (4)	"	
Series II, circa 329 to 328 B. C.							
3805-	62		γ	6	24 (6)	W to VG	
Series III, circa 327 B. C.							
3867-	29	γ		10	24 (7)	VG	
				55			

56	ALEXANDER HOARDS					
Series IV, dated 326 to 321 B. C.						
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Newell. Plate.	Condition.	
3896-	I3	= γ		12 24 (8)	VG to F	
3909-	7	I =		14 —	"	
3916-	17	II =		16 —	"	
3933-	12	III =		18 24 (9)	"	
3945-	9	III =		20 —	"	
3954-	7	II III =		22 24 (10)	"	
Series V, dated 320 to 318 B. C.						
3961-	2	III III =	γ	24 —	F to VF	
3963	1	I III III =	κ	28 —	B	
3964-	8	II III III =	"	29 —	B	
3972	1	III III III =	"	31 —	B	
3973-	3	III III III =	"	31 VII, 2	B	
NUMISMATIC NOTES						



DEMANHUR						57
UNCERTAIN MINTS IN THE EAST.						
3976-	2	BUNCH OF GRAPES WITH TENDRIL	17 (5)		VG	
Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.						
3978	1	BUNCH OF GRAPES WITH TENDRIL	17 (6)		B	
Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ only.						
3979	1	WREATH, Φ Ξ	30 (9)		F	
<hr/>						
BABYLONIA.						
Mint: BABYLON.						
Series I, circa 331 to 329 B. C.						
Müller.						
3980-	3	M	—	—	W to VG	
3983-	44	“	—	25 (8)	W to F	
AND MONOGRAPHS						

58	ALEXANDER HOARDS						
	No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
4027-	5	Φ	M	OVER BUNCH OF GRAPES	—	25 (10)	W to VG
4032	1	"	"	KYLIX	—	—	VG
4033	1	"	"	DOLPHIN	—	25 (9)	"
4034-	2	"	"	TRIDENT	—	—	"
4036-	5	"	"	LAUREL SPRIG	—	—	"
4041-	7	"	(style varies)	M	—	25 (11)	VG to VF
4048-	10			Φ, M	805	25 (12)	"
Series II, circa 329 to 326 B. C.							
4058-	28	BEE		⌘*, M	697	26 (7)	VG to VF
4086-	19	WREATH		"	—	26 (5)	"
4105-	12	BIRD (to r. or l.)		"	—	26 (4)	"
4117-	9	DOLPHIN		"	699	26 (10)	"
4126-	18	STAR		"	684	26 (6)	"
* This monogram at times is inverted.							
	NUMISMATIC NOTES						



DEMANHUR							59
			卐, M	704	26 (8)	VG to VF	
4144-	19	TORCH	"	—	27 (9)	"	
4163-	15	KYLIX	"	—	27 (8)	"	
4178-	4	ROSE	"	—	28 (3)	"	
4182-	10	SICKLE	"	693	27 (4)	"	
4192-	13	GRAPES	"	691	26 (11)	"	
4205-	6	IVY LEAF	"	—	28 (1)	"	
4211-	4	HUMAN EAR (?)	"	705	—	"	
4215	1	SPHINX	"	—	—	"	
4216-	7	卐	"	678	27 (5)	"	
4223	1	♀	"	677	—	"	
4224-	3	M	"	689	28 (4)	"	
4227	1	CADUCEUS	"	—	27 (11)	"	
4228-	3	TRIDENT	"	—	26 (9)	"	
4231-	13	SERPENT	"	679	27 (10)	"	
4244-	9	THUNDERBOLT	"	700	27 (12)	"	
4253-	10	EAR OF BARLEY	"				
AND MONOGRAPHS							

	60	ALEXANDER HOARDS
NUMISMATIC NOTES		
No.	Spec.	In field.
4263-	11	NIKE
4274-	4	ARTEMIS
4278-	3	HOE
4281-	8	LION'S SCALP
4289	1	ACROSTOLIUM
4290	1	APLUSTRE
4291	1	RACING TORCH
4292	1	BUCRANIUM
4293	1	LION
4294-	6	(In exergue) CLUB
4300-	16	" CADUCEUS
4316-	9	" TRIDENT
4325-	6	(no symbol)
4331-	12	M










DEMANHUR										61
Series III, circa 326 to 324 B. C.										
4343-	2	HOE	and M	✕	708a	29 (2)			F to B	
4345-	8	CLUB	"	"	682	28 (5)			"	
4353-	8	EAR (?)	"	"	702	28 (9)			"	
4361-	11	SICKLE	"	"	703	—			"	
4372-	14	GRAPES	"	"	692	—			"	
4386-	2	TORCH	"	"	—	—			"	
4388-	3	STAR	"	"	—	28 (6)			"	
4391-	11	KYLIX	"	"	—	29 (1)			"	
4402-	6	CADUCEUS	"	"	—	28 (10)			"	
4408-	2	DOLPHIN	"	"	698	28 (12)			"	
4410-	11	BEE	"	"	696	—			"	
4421-	4	TRIDENT	"	"	680	28 (11)			"	
4425-	7	PILEUS	"	"	707	28 (7)			"	
AND MONOGRAPHS										

60		ALEXANDER HOARDS				
No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
4263-	11	NIKE	 M	687	27 (1)	VG to VF
4274-	4	ARTEMIS	"	701	27 (2)	"
4278-	3	HOE	"	—	27 (3)	"
4281-	8	LION'S SCALP	"	694	26 (12)	"
4289	1	ACROSTOLIUM	"	—	27 (6)	"
4290	1	APLUSTRE	"	—	27 (7)	"
4291	1	RACING TORCH	"	—	—	"
4292	1	BUCRANIUM	"	—	—	"
4293	1	LION	"	—	28 (2)	"
4294-	6	(In exergue) CLUB	"	—	26 (2)	"
4300-	16	" CADUCEUS	"	690	26 (1)	"
4316-	9	" TRIDENT	"	—	26 (3)	"
4325-	6	(no symbol)	"	670	—	"
4331-	12	M		671	—	"
		NUMISMATIC NOTES				

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR		63
4479-	47	M	AY 1272 29 (8, 9)	VF to B
Series V, circa 323 to 320 B. C. Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.				
4526-	69	M	AY 99 29 (7)	VF to B
4595-	6	"	8 104 29 (6)	"
4601	1	"	B 103 29 (5)	B
Series VI, circa 320 to 319 B. C. Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.				
4602-	4	WHEEL and N	KA — —	B

62	ALEXANDER HOARDS							
	No.	Spec.	In field.	M	Beneath throne.	Müller.	Plate.	Condition.
	4432-	10	NIKE	M		686	28 (8)	F to B
	4442-	4	FULMEN	"	"	—	—	"
	Series IV, circa 324 to 323 B. C.							
	Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.							
	4446-	2	CLUB and M		"	—	29 (4)	F to B
	4448-	3	EAR (?)	"	"	—	29 (3)	"
	4451-	3	SICKLE	"	"	—	—	"
	4454-	2	GRAPES	"	"	—	—	"
	4456-	2	TORCH	"	"	—	—	"
	4458-	2	STAR	"	"	683	—	"
	4460	1	KYLIX	"	"	—	—	"
	4461	1	CADUCEUS	"	"	688	—	"
	4462-	3	TRIDENT	"	"	681	—	"
	NUMISMATIC NOTES							

AND MONOGRAPHS		DEMANHUR			F to B
4465	I NIKE and M	𐀀	—	—	
4466	I FULMEN	“	—	—	“
4467-	12	“	672	—	“
Series V, circa 323 to 320 B. C. Inscribed: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.					
4479-	47 M	ΛΥ	1272	29 (8, 9)	VF to B
Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.					
4526-	69 M	ΛΥ	99	29 (7)	VF to B
4595-	6 “	𐀀	104	29 (6)	“
4601	I “	Β	103	29 (5)	B
Series VI, circa 320 to 319 B. C. Inscribed: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.					
4602-	4 WHEEL and N	𐀀	—	—	B

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	No.	Spec.	In field.	Beneath throne.	Müller. Plate.	Condition.
	4606-	3	WHEEL		24	B
	4609	1	WHEEL and 		29	B
	<hr/>					
	EGYPT.					
	Mint: ALEXANDRIA.					
	4610-	4	ROSE		—	30 (2) VF to B
	4614-	134	ROSE		124	30 (3) "
	4748-	33	KHNUM		1517	29 (12) "
	4781-	39	THUNDERBOLT		7	29 (11) "
	4820-	2	EAR OF BARLEY		—	VII, 3 B
	4822-26	5	PEGASUS		601	30 (1); VIII, 1 B
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<p>MACEDONIA.</p> <p>Mint: AMPHIPOLIS.</p> <p>Groups A to K, Nos. 1 to 1582 inclusive.</p> <p>That the coins forming the above eleven groups belong together, and represent the issues of a single mint, has been demonstrated in the present writer's "Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great".⁶ As there pointed out, these coins all show one tradition of art and manufacture, and reveal a steady progression (one can hardly call it progress) in style. The individual members of each group are closely bound together, <i>inter se</i>, by the frequent use of a common obverse die; the larger groups, in their turn, are also linked together in the same manner. In other words, group 'A' will possess certain dies that were used in its production and then were continued in use, in a slightly more worn condition, for group 'B'. Group 'B', in turn, will be found to possess cer-</p>	
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	<p>tain obverse dies that had already been used for 'A', and others that were later used for 'C', and so forth. Since the publication of that study, a great many additional cases of such use in common of obverse dies between the component members of a single group, as well as between group and group, have turned up. These facts, taken together, prove beyond a doubt that these coins are all the issues of a single mint.</p> <p>Little change has been made in the actual grouping of the varieties and their sequence. This can be more or less accurately determined by noticing the interchange of dies, the development of style and technique, and the average amount of circulation exhibited by the various groups contained in such a hoard as that of Demanhur.</p> <p>Reasons of style, the find spots of corresponding subsidiary denominations, the close connection with and continuation of the monetary issues of the previous reign, and the re-issue of posthumous silver with types of Philip II, all prove that the mint</p>
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<p>which struck coins Nos. 1 to 1582 was situated within the boundaries of Macedonia. At the time the monograph above mentioned was written, the choice lay between Pella the capital and Amphipolis the largest port and the centre of the silver mining industries. The writer inclined towards Pella as the probable mint, but expressed the conviction that Amphipolis⁷ could present as good a claim. However, a continued and detailed study of the numerous later coinages of the same mint appear to prove conclusively that it was located in Amphipolis and not in Pella. At present it is not advisable to enter upon a necessarily lengthy discussion of the pros and cons, since this would demand the study of hundreds of coins not in the Demanhur hoard and thus take us outside the limits originally set for this article.</p> <p>The dates previously proposed for these Macedonian issues by the writer, in his "Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great," must now be disregarded. At that time he followed the accepted authorities⁸ in the interpretation</p>	
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	<p>of the dates found on the Ake issues. Further studies,⁹ however, revealed the indisputable fact that these dates are in error by some fourteen years, and this discovery throws out all previous calculations concerning the dates of the contemporaneous Macedonian issues.</p> <p>The dates here assigned the various groups of the Amphipolis coinage are, perhaps, to a certain extent approximate. But even so, they cannot be in error by much more than a year either way. The commencement of the coinage is determined by the accession of Alexander, its termination — so far as our hoard is concerned — by the latest date¹⁰ found on the accompanying issues of Sidon and Ake. Between these limits the material has been divided in such a way that, up to the two or three years immediately preceding the actual burial, the average annual production, in both quantity of coins and number of dies, is reasonably distributed. Naturally some years would witness a greater production than others, and full account has been taken of this possibility. The two final</p>
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<p>groups were left out of consideration because of the apparently general law observable in coin hoards that, for perfectly natural reasons, the issues contemporary with the burial are usually comparatively scantily represented. That the working of this law should be noticeable in the present case is all the more likely, as our mint was situated in Macedonia and the hoard was buried in Egypt. Also, certain material at the writer's disposal would tend to show that groups J and K, and probably also I, were originally much larger than our find would seem to indicate. That the dates here assigned to groups A, B, C, and D are approximately correct is confirmed by the Kyparissia hoard recently published."¹¹</p> <p>In looking over the issues of the Amphipolis mint, as presented to us by the Demanhur hoard, we are naturally impressed by their quantity, continuity and evident importance as compared with the coinages of the remaining mints. In fact, they form at least one third of the entire hoard and outnumber the representatives of any other one mint. This is especially</p>	
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	<p>to be noticed as the accumulation was no doubt largely made in Egypt where it was eventually buried. The number of dies used at Amphipolis also surpasses that found for any other place at this period. It will be recognized, therefore, that Amphipolis must have been the most important mint of the entire empire, not only during Alexander's lifetime, but also throughout the greater portion of his successor's reign.</p> <p>Before closing our notes on the Amphipolis coinage, as represented in the Demanhur hoard, it is necessary to correct an error which crept into the writer's previous list of the varieties coming to him from that find. The tetradrachm illustrated on Plate 17, No. 3, is now known never to have been in the find. By mistake it had found its way into the lot purchased from M. Bourgey by the writer and so was included by him in his catalogue. It was not until too late that his suspicions, aroused by the divergent appearance of the piece and its anomalous presence in such an early hoard, were confirmed by M. Bourgey. The coin</p>
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<p>had come to him at about the same time as the Demanhur pieces, but from another source.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MACEDONIA.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: PELLA.</p> <p>Groups A to F, Nos. 1583 to 1638 inclusive.</p> <p>These coins must also constitute the issues of a single mint, as many of their types are connected by identical obverse dies. We find several instances where an earlier reverse die has had its symbol or monogram partially erased (leaving sufficient traces, however, to enable us to determine the variety) and a later one substituted. There is, in addition, an unmistakable continuity of style throughout the series.</p> <p>The mint itself must have been situated in Macedonia. Not only do the coins themselves show many affinities in style with the Amphipolis issues, but the accompanying subsidiary bronze coins are almost exclusively found in Macedonia or Thessaly. Certain posthumous staters,</p>	
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	<p>tetradrachms and smaller denominations of the Philip II type are known which bear the same monograms or symbols as our tetradrachms and show the same stylistic peculiarities.¹² It is obvious that the posthumous silver issues of the Philip type could only have been issued in Macedonia and, possibly, Thessaly. The demand for this type of coin was apparently confined to Macedonia, Greece, and the northern barbarians. The last named seem to have especially favored this type of coin and it was no doubt largely for their special benefit that these posthumous issues were made. There must also have been a certain continued demand for them in Hellas itself, for the posthumous types are well represented in the Lamia hoard (preserved in the Athens collection) and in two small hoards from Central Greece now in the writer's possession. Others were contained in the Andritsaena (Peloponnesus) hoard,¹³ the second Megara hoard,¹⁴ and the Kililer hoard.¹⁵ If then we are forced to assign Nos. 1583 to 1638 to some mint in Macedonia, only Pella can come into considera-</p>
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<p>tion, for Amphipolis has already been pre-empted by Nos. 1 to 1582.</p> <p>In comparing the issues of Amphipolis and Pella we see that the latter mint has by this time become of distinctly lesser importance than the former — which had not been the case under Philip II. At Pella under Alexander the issues themselves, the dies cut, and the actual coins struck, are comparatively few. This is also reflected in the fact that at Pella only one annual magistrate, as a rule, supervises the coinage. At Amphipolis it is evident that many magistrates must have functioned at one and the same time. Probably because of the contrast in their respective situations the Pella mint now came to be used more for supplying local demands, the Amphipolis mint for foreign commerce. It is a fact that while the writer has records of the latter's issues being strongly represented in hoards from European Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, Babylonia, and Persia, the Pella coins seldom turn up in finds made outside of Europe, and then only in small numbers. In the</p>	
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	<p>European hoards, however, they are not uncommon. It is furthermore to be noted that such specimens of the Pella mint as did occur at Demanhur are all beautifully preserved, the majority hardly circulated at all. It is evident that they had not travelled much from hand to hand after leaving their dies. In contrast to this, considerable numbers of the Amphipolis pieces, particularly of the earlier issues, must by their appearance have circulated a good deal before they were finally consigned to the ground.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MACEDONIA OR THESSALY.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: UNCERTAIN.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Nos. 1639 to 1648 inclusive.</p> <p>If the coins of this type were not actually struck at Pella, they were at least copied from certain issues of that mint. To be particularly noted is the peculiar form taken by the back of the throne, a type that is found in use on the Pella coinage only. If, on the one hand, these particular tetradrachms, because of certain other</p>
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peculiarities, will not fit easily into the Pella series as we know it, on the other hand they could not have been struck far away. Their late style, as well as the fact that all the known specimens from the Demanhur hoard were in fine condition makes it probable that they were issued about the time of Alexander's death, or slightly later. It is quite possible that they were coined by Antipater, when in 322 B. C. he was shut up with his army in Lamia. The probable date of their appearance, their comparative crudeness of style and execution, and the fact that they imitated the Pella issues, makes this suggestion at least worthy of consideration.

PELOPONNESUS.

Mint: SICYON.

Nos. 1649 to 1675 inclusive.

In the *Revue Numismatique* for 1904, pp. 117-133, M. Babelon proposed the attribution of the first of the above types to Sicyon, because of the *rapprochement* he there makes between the youthful figure

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	<p>with outstretched arms and the later, and better known, representation¹⁶ of the youth holding a long fillet in his upraised hands. This figure M. Babelon calls "Le devin de Sicyone".</p> <p>At the time of his previous article on the Demanhur hoard, the writer was unaware of M. Babelon's attribution of these particular coins to Sicyon, and saw in them only the issues of some uncertain mint in Macedonia or Thrace. Since then many new and unpublished types not in our hoard have come to light. They form a numismatic bridge between the earlier pieces with the "Sicyonian divinity" symbol and the later coins (Müller, Nos. 864-893) undoubtedly struck at Sicyon. As it is here permissible to deal only with such varieties as actually occurred in the Demanhur deposit, a study of the extremely interesting Alexander issues of Sicyon as a whole will have to be deferred to some future time.</p> <p>Among the most important and interesting of the coins that prove the correctness of M. Babelon's attribution is No. 3,</p>
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Plate II. A close inspection will reveal that what at first seems only a flaw in the reverse die, immediately beneath the outstretched arms of the little figure in the field, is in reality a *flying dove* somewhat minutely engraved. This definitely forms the link, hitherto missing, between the earliest and the later representations of the "Sicyonian divinity", on the Alexander coinages. Thus we see the young god standing, with arms outstretched, both with and without the dove (Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 16), just as on the later Alexander issues of Sicyon he is standing holding a long fillet with his upraised hands. Here, too, the dove is sometimes present and sometimes absent. Certain autonomous bronze coins show him as on our coins of the Demanhur find, his arms stretched out in front of him as if to seize the bird, which, however, in this case too, is not always represented (see Babelon, *l. c.*, p. 123, Nos. 11 and 12). Although not aware of the existence of a specimen like our No. 1649, M. Babelon yet describes the little figure on this type as in the act of stretching out

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	<p>his arms "<i>inspiré</i>" as he says, "<i>par le désir de saisir la colombe, bien que l'oiseau ne soit pas figuré. Il fait le geste de vouloir atteindre l'oiseau qui lui échappe et prend son vol.</i>" (l. c., p. 124.) Now a specimen of this very type has come to light which actually depicts the escaping dove, and so proves M. Babelon quite right in his interesting surmise.</p> <p>The somewhat surprising position of this dove — beneath instead of above the god's arms where one might naturally expect to find the bird after which he is grasping — can perhaps best be explained as an artistic convention. Either the field of the coin was felt to be too limited to place the dove in front of the hands (the more natural position) or we have here to do with a direct copy of some well known statue embodying these peculiarities. In a statue, particularly one of marble, it would indeed be somewhat difficult to represent a bird flying unsupported in front of the outstretched hands of the god. It might, however, be represented as escaping from <i>between</i> the arms, in which case these could</p>
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<p>be made to support the flying bird. The coin engraver, seriously handicapped by the limited space at his command and the insuperable difficulties of a very small bas-relief, would be forced to give us a representation of the statue as we see it on our coin. The result was evidently felt not to be a success and the dove appears on one die only.</p> <p>The remaining types here assigned to Sicyon were very poorly represented in the Demanhur hoard and so, perhaps, do not clearly reveal their connection with the later coins correctly given to Sicyon by Müller. In fact, there are too many gaps here to make a lengthy discussion practical or even advisable on this occasion.</p> <p>If the contents of the Demanhur hoard thus give us a rather sketchy view of the sequence of the earlier Alexander issues of Sicyon, at least enough is available to prove that the Sicyonian mint must have enjoyed a certain amount of importance under Alexander and his successor Philip III. During the campaigns in Asia the Peloponnesus formed an important and</p>	
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	<p>prolific recruiting ground for the armies. Many mercenaries were recruited from among the mountaineers of this rugged peninsula, no doubt lured into the service by the dazzling prospects held out to them of the fabulous riches of the East so easily falling into the hands of Alexander's armies. The famous recruiting ground of Taenarum was, in fact, situated not so far away. An active mint, more conveniently located than those in distant Macedonia, was certainly needed to supply the new recruits with the first installments of their pay and also to start them on their long voyage eastwards. It must furthermore be remembered that strong Macedonian forces were kept in the Peloponnesus during the war with the Spartan king Agis, and afterwards also, to discourage similar attempts at raising the standard of revolt in Alexander's rear among the ever rebellious Greeks. This consideration amply accounts for an active mint at Sicyon.</p>
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REGION OF THE PROPONTIS.

Various mints.

Nos. 1676 to 1747 inclusive.

The mints at which these coins were struck were probably no less than three in number. As shown by the great stylistic similarity of their issues, these particular mints must have been situated close to each other or were, at least, intimately bound together by ties of commerce.

It is not the writer's intention to discuss their coinages here. The tetradrachms before us fail to give any adequate idea of the large series of coins issued by them. These series are almost entirely composed of Alexander and posthumous Philip II staters, accompanied by unusually extensive issues of drachms bearing the names and types of Alexander III and Philip III. The coinage of tetradrachms was both scanty and intermittent. We would therefore be forced to transgress the bounds set for this article if we were to discuss the issues of these mints in an at all adequate manner.

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	<p>Because of their style, the symbols employed, and the find-spots of single specimens of the accompanying drachms, Nos. 1676-1747 may in general be assigned to the regions bordering the Propontis. This embraces both the European and Asiatic shores. Nos. 1687-1747 Müller has already given to Perinthus in Thrace. Possibly he is correct in such an attribution, though the present writer would most certainly prefer to assign this large issue to the city of Lampsacus on the opposite shore.</p> <p>Now there is no question but that to Alexander the province of Hellespontine Phrygia constituted a vitally important portion of his empire, as through it ran the highway connecting him with his home base in Macedonia. It must therefore have been very strongly garrisoned. Entirely aside from its strategic importance to the fast growing Macedonian Empire it was, and always had been, commercially most important and, therefore, very wealthy. Together with the Thracian Chersonese it commanded the famous waterway between the Aegæan and the Black</p>
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<p>Sea. The lands around the latter were, and had long been, the granary of Greece, and so through the Hellespont ran the life lines of Hellas. This portion of Asia Minor had for centuries possessed mints noted for their large and continuous coinage. Under Alexander the cities that still were allowed to retain their full autonomy continued to coin extensively, using their accustomed types. Among these were Cyzicus, Hera-clea, Chalcedon, Cius, Pergamum, and many others.</p> <p>The seat of the Persian government in these regions had been Dascylium, but we know of no Persian coinage having been struck there. Instead, the Persian satraps seem to have employed the convenient and already existing mints of Cyzicus and Lampsacus whenever they had occasion to issue money of their own. It is to this fact that we owe not only the many Per-sian types found on the electrum staters of Cyzicus and the gold staters of Lamp-sacus, but also the definitely and purely Persian coins evidently issued from time to time by these mints for satrapal pur-</p>	
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	<p>poses.¹⁷ There can be no question but that Cyzicus and Lampsacus were the most important coining centres in all this territory. Cyzicus, however, continued to issue money in her own name and with her own types for some considerable time after the actual arrival of Alexander the Great.¹⁸ We have therefore no reason to expect or to look for an Alexander coinage in that city—particularly as Cyzicus very jealously guarded her cherished autonomy throughout these stirring times.</p> <p>Lampsacus seems to have fared differently. A study of her autonomous coinage reveals a great stylistic gap which cannot have commenced long after 335 B. C. and apparently extends to about 200 B. C. It is known that Lampsacus remained an important commercial centre throughout this period, and the apparent absence of any coinage is therefore highly significant. She had previously struck coins for Persian satraps, even going so far as to place some of their names (those of Orontes and Spithridates¹⁹) upon them. There is every reason to believe,</p>
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<p>therefore, that here would be located one of Alexander's important mints. This follows not only from the fact of the city's strategic and commercially important situation, but also from the fact that she had recently possessed a large and active mint and had actually coined for Persian satraps. In proceeding with our study of Alexander's other eastern coinages we shall soon come to see how significant these particular points really are. It will be possible to show, again and again, that certain central mints especially active just previous to Alexander's arrival were nearly always continued—for economy's sake and because that very activity presupposes some definite commercial, political, or strategic importance—under the new régime. In other words, Alexander practically took over bodily the practices as well as the government and the provinces of the Persian Empire.</p> <p>The series at present being discussed has therefore been assigned to Lampsacus on purely external grounds. Internal evidences are not strongly conclusive, but,</p>	
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	<p>such as they are, would seem to corroborate the attribution. The series, with its unusually extensive accompaniment of staters (Alexander and posthumous Philip types) and Alexander and Philip III drachms, is by far the largest and most important in all north-western Asia Minor. These gold issues are unusually prolific, as is only to be expected from a city which had been coining gold staters of her own in such abundance for so many years. One of the most frequently recurring symbols on the staters and drachms is the forepart of a winged horse, the peculiar emblem of Lampsacus. Second only to this in frequency of occurrence is a figure of Artemis, one of the principal and most popular divinities of the city. As stated above, Nos. 1687-1747 had previously been assigned by Müller to Perinthus because of the curious double-horse symbol which occurs on the accompanying staters and is also found used as a type on the autonomous issues of that city. But these are evidently only magistrates' symbols, and only one of them has any peculiar connection with Perin-</p>
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<p>thus. We have to be on our guard against basing an attribution on the strength of a single magistrate's symbol. Furthermore, the symbol of the joined foreparts of a horse is not exclusively Perinthian. The Alexander tetradrachms described by Müller under his No. 393 were, by their style, certainly struck beyond the Taurus. Besides, Perinthus at this time was semi-autonomous and we have no reason to look for an Alexander coinage here at such an early period.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LYDIA.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: SARDIS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Circa 333-324 B. C., Nos. 1748-1750.</i></p> <p>Here, too, we can gain no really adequate idea of the importance of this series to which the above three scarce types belong. Although scores of varieties of the drachm and the gold stater go to make up this series, the tetradrachm was seldom struck at first and then only in comparatively small numbers. Among the gold staters accompanying this group there is but one which bears the name and types of Philip</p>	
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	<p>II. This shows clearly that the present mint must have been somewhat removed from the wide-spread influence of those famous coins. Only sporadic instances²⁰ occur of these posthumous issues of Philip II having been coined outside of Macedonia, Thrace, and the lands bordering the Hellespont.</p> <p>The few specimens that have come down to us of the three types described above, apparently show that these coins were struck from adjusted dies. This point, too — the very first instance of this practice we have so far encountered — shows that we are moving away from the purely Greek issues of Hellas, Macedonia, and north-western Asia Minor. We are approaching the domains of the Persian Daric and Siglus. The use of fixed, or at least adjusted, dies had early become customary in the Orient. We may first notice the beginnings of the practice among some of the early electrum coins of Lydia and Ionia. The gold and silver issues of Croesus show an unmistakeable adoption of the adjusted die — that is to say, pre-</p>
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vious to striking, the obverse die and the reverse punch were carefully adjusted, if not permanently fixed, along a common axis. The real reason is not far to seek. The obverse design as adopted by Croesus consists of the foreparts of a lion and a bull placed vis-à-vis. This forms a composition whose general scheme is roughly □. Likewise the two reverse punch marks form a similarly oblong design. As the coin blanks used at this time were invariably oval in shape, it was consequently absolutely necessary—if all the design were to appear upon the coin—for the two dies to be placed in a similar position,



Fig. 1

their longest axes to correspond with the longest axis of the coin blank. For this reason we will always find the dies of the Croesic staters and sigli adjusted ↑ ← or ↑ → as in Fig. 1.

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	<p>After the fall of the Lydian Empire the Persian kings substituted their darics and sigli for the Lydian coins, and the royal archer of Persia replaces the Lydian lion and bull. But now that the composition of the new type is roughly □, the reverse punch, being oblong in shape, must take an upright position because the oval coin blanks are still retained. Again the two dies necessarily assume positions to correspond with each other and the longer axis of the blank, as in Fig. 2. So long as</p> <div data-bbox="669 1037 1195 1241" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>Fig. 2</p> <p>the Persian Empire lasted, the obverse die and the reverse punch mark on the royal coinage held the constant relation ↑↑, forced into this rigid position by the peculiar form of the blank. It is most probable, therefore, that in imitation of the royal issues the practice of adjusting dies, particularly in the most usual position ↑↑,</p>
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<p>became so prevalent in the East at a comparatively early period — long before the mints of the Greek world adopted it.</p> <p>As the coins described under Nos. 1748-1750 are so adjusted, it is reasonable to suppose that they originated in a mint under Persian influence. Their style, however, and that of the accompanying staters and drachms proves that they must have been struck in Asia Minor, that is, north and west of the Taurus range. There is only one mint in this region that entirely conforms with the requirements demanded, and that one is Sardis. In the first place, there had for centuries been situated at Sardis a royal mint, first under the Lydian monarchs until the death of Cræsus, then under the Achæmenid²¹ sovereigns. Under the latter, Sardis constituted the seat of government for the very important First Satrapy while its governor was practically viceroy for the entire western portion of the Empire. It is highly probable that the darics and sigli coined here lasted until the coming of Alexander. The latter, on his arrival, took over the city and, fol-</p>	
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	<p>lowing the Persian precedent according to his almost invariable custom, retained Sardis as the capital of the Lydian Satrapy. Now in all this satrapy only Sardis is at all likely to have coined under Alexander. It was the only large and important city of this district that did not possess complete autonomy. It had been a royal mint for centuries and had coined actively under the preceding régime. The remaining large commercial centres of the region, such as Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, etc., were autonomous Greek cities and enjoyed and jealously guarded the coveted privilege of striking autonomous coins. Alexander looked upon these Hellenic centres of trade and commerce as allies, and, like the Persian kings before him, refrained from infringing upon their rights of local coinage. Sardis, however, was in a different category because as a city it had never enjoyed the rights of autonomous coinage, being the seat and royal capital of the satrapal government. Here Alexander undoubtedly found an active mint of long standing, and furnished with all necessary</p>
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<p>appliances and workmen. In Sardis we, for the first time, touch upon an outpost of oriental civilization and apparently find immediate evidence of this in the adjustment of coin dies.</p> <p>As the coinages of Lampsacus and adjacent mints were intended to supply the needs of Hellespontine Phrygia and of the garrisons which were stationed there, so the coinage of Sardis was to supply the royal needs in the important satrapy of Lydia, and especially to provide the pay of the troops stationed here to protect the famous "Royal Road" which ran via Sardis to the East.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CARIA.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: MILETUS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Circa 330-318 B. C., Nos. 1751-1818.</i></p> <p>This group, if we are to judge by style alone, is certainly to be placed somewhere in Asia Minor north and west of the Taurus mountains. Our tetradrachms represent only the commencement of a long series of issues. That they belong to-</p>	
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	<p>gether can best be appreciated by studying the large number of gold staters that accompany them. Confining ourselves, however, to the tetradrachms we not only find a general similarity of style and technique between the various members of the group, but also several instances of a community of obverse dies. As the final issues (not represented in the Demanhur find) in both gold and silver of this large series are bound by style or by obverse dies to Müller's Nos. 1033, 1054, 1055, etc., the attribution of the entire group to Miletus seems assured. Furthermore, the almost constant symbol appearing on the staters (Müller, Nos. 583, 584, 1131, 1134, 1135, 1137) and many of the later silver issues (Müller, Nos. 1133, 1136, 1138-1140) is the double ax, a symbol closely associated with Caria. Although Miletus is generally looked upon as a city of Ionia, both Homer²² and Herodotus²³ agree that it originally was inhabited by Carians. Certainly at a later date it formed part of the domains of the Carian Dynasts, and under Alexander continued to be reckoned as in</p>
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<p>the satrapy of Caria.²⁴</p> <p>At the time of Alexander's invasion there was residing at the castle of Alinda, Ada the sister and wife of Idrieus the former satrap. She had been deposed by Pixodarus when the latter had seized the power on the death of Idrieus. Ada at once opened negotiations with Alexander, even going so far as to adopt him formally as her son. She also offered to assist him in every way to secure the province of Caria, asserting that many of the nobles, as well as the Greek cities, would declare for him. Little wonder then that, after the capture and destruction of Halicarnassus, Alexander should have entrusted the satrapy to Ada. Its revenues were also assigned to her, and a force of 3,000 infantry and 200 cavalry under a certain Ptolemaeus was left to protect the land. This important and wealthy district, as under the Persians, was allowed to coin money — but henceforth only with Alexandrine types. As the capital, Halicarnassus, had been completely razed²⁵ the mint was naturally transferred to the nearby city of Miletus,</p>	
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	<p>the largest, and commercially the most important, place in all the region.</p> <p>LYCIA OR PAMPHYLIA.</p> <p>Mint: PHASELIS or SIDE.</p> <p>Nos. 1819-1973.</p> <p>These coins are members of one group and therefore the issues of one mint, as is definitely shown by the fact that all the varieties here given are bound together by the use of certain identical obverse dies. It is somewhat difficult, however, to assign the group to any one mint or even province. The style as exhibited, particularly by Nos. 1819 to 1943, is clearly that of Greek artists in Asia Minor. The reverses of Nos. 1944 to 1972 are evidently somewhat influenced by the contemporary issues of Tarsus (Nos. 2327-2369). But this does not mean necessarily that their mint must be looked for in Cilicia. Alexander's issues in Tarsus were discussed by the writer in a recent number of the <i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>.²⁶ There it was shown that because Soli, Mallus, and</p>
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<p>Issus had to have their municipal coins struck for them in the central mint of Tarsus, it was not at all likely that they possessed mints of their own during the lifetime of Alexander, or even immediately after. The only other cities in Cilicia that had coined extensively in Persian times were Celenderis and Nagidus. If they coined under Alexander, their issues could scarcely have been of such importance as those represented by Nos. 1819 to 1973 manifestly are. Furthermore, their issues, like those of Cyprus or Phoenicia, would have been of a somewhat local character and so would have borne mintmarks of greater local significance.²⁷ Neither Celenderis or Nagidus can be looked upon as possible imperial mints. Nor was there any need in Cilicia for further issues of this character, as it is evident that Tarsus acted as the central mint for the entire province and as such issued imperial money in all necessary quantities.</p> <p>Nos. 1819-1973 are clearly royal issues as they bear no mintmarks of local significance, merely the private signatures of</p>	
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	<p>magistrates in charge of the coinage. It is probable that their mint was located in some seaport or important commercial centre. This follows from the fact that specimens of these varieties are present in nearly every recorded Alexander hoard buried previous to 300 B. C. They have occurred in at least six Egyptian hoards (including the present one), one Babylonian, one Syrian, one from Central Asia Minor, four Greek, and one Macedonian. Single specimens have reached the writer at various times from nearly every quarter of the Near East, from Athens, Constantinople, Smyrna, Syria, and Egypt. Coins of this type were apparently very widely scattered in ancient times. This would lead one to suppose that they had originated in some active centre of commerce and trade, preferably a seaport. This is indeed negative reasoning and so is only of real value as a corroborative piece of evidence. On the whole, then, it might be said that the evidence points to some mint where "royal", as in distinction to "municipal", Alexander coins would be</p>
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<p>struck, and this at some important seaport in Asia Minor, not too far distant from Tarsus.</p> <p>Approaching the problem from another angle, we have already noticed that the great Asiatic provinces of Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria, were severally supplied by an adequate coinage of the new types from their central mints. Cilicia, too, was amply provided for, as the writer has tried to bring out in his recent monograph on the subject. In this portion of the world there remain only the three great provinces of Greater Phrygia (assigned to Antigonos), Lycia and Pisidia (together with Pamphylia constituted as one province and assigned to Nearchus), and finally Cappadocia (assigned to Sabaces as satrap). Cappadocia is at once ruled out as it was somewhat out of the direct line of trade, was not as important a portion of the empire as the other provinces, and did not become a particularly active coining centre until much later times.</p> <p>Celaenae, as the garrison centre of</p>	
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	<p>Greater Phrygia and situated on the main road from Cilicia and the East to Sardis and the West, might well lay a considerable claim to the possession of an important mint. By means of the commerce which undoubtedly flowed along this route, the die cutters of Celaenae would very likely be well acquainted with the coin issues of Tarsus and might soon be led to borrow certain details from them. However, Celaenae, so far as we know, never possessed a mint in Persian times. Alexander found it more expedient to issue his new coinage from old and well constituted mints, to which apparent rule there are only two exceptions, both of obvious explanation. The one is Ake, which was opened to take the place of Tyre destroyed; the other was the mint in his new foundation of Alexandria, a city he planned as a great capital and so, obviously, in need of a suitable mint.</p> <p>There only remains the important province formed from the united districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia. Along the coast of this province were located the</p>
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<p>busy seaports of Phaselis and Side, while further inland lay the powerful cities of Aspendus and Selge. All of these towns had struck coins in greater or lesser quantities before the coming of Alexander's army. However, neither Selge nor Aspendus need be taken into consideration when searching for the possible mint of our tetradrachms. Selge was not of sufficient importance at this time, while Aspendus was attacked, severely punished, and suppressed²⁸ for its hostility to Alexander. Only Phaselis and Side therefore remain. Both these cities were very closely bound by coasting trade with Cilicia. They were active, wealthy, and well populated at the time of which we are speaking. The mountains behind them possessed rich silver mines, and Side's mint, in particular, had long made full use of them. Nearchus apparently chose Phaselis as his seat of government,²⁹ and on this score that place could lay claim to an issue of coins such as ours. Side, on the other hand, was perhaps a more active centre of trade and commerce, and her issues of autono-</p>	
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	<p>mous coins had been the more continuous throughout Persian times and down until the coming of the Greeks. There is no doubt but that her business ties with Cilicia were strong, her coins had followed the same weight standard and were in appearance very similar to those of Cilicia. What is more, several were actually present in the Cilician find described by the writer a few years ago.³⁰ Furthermore, her ties with Egypt must have been close as her coins are often found there.³¹ This would account for the surprising frequency with which coins of the type of Nos. 1819-1973 occur in Egyptian finds.</p> <p>The style of our pieces and the presence of the title point to a period after about 326 B. C. for their striking. This being the case, the tetradrachm in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow, first published by Dr. Macdonald and illustrated on Plate XXII, No. 3 of his catalogue, was probably the earliest issue of the Alexander type at Side. So far as the writer is aware, this piece is still unique and was not represented in the Demanhur deposit.</p>
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<p>CILICIA.</p> <p>Mint: TARSUS.</p> <p>333 to <i>circa</i> 320 B. C., Nos. 1974-2435.</p> <p>Tarsus, the capital and metropolis of Cilicia, had from very early times been the most prolific mint of this great province, so rich in natural resources and strategically so important to the empire of which it formed a part. The Persian forces stationed here had retreated before Alexander's victorious advance and the city fell without a blow. The new ruler followed the obvious and most expedient course by imitating the Persians in making Tarsus his principal mint for this district. He employed the same workmen, and issued a large³² series of coins comprising gold staters, silver tetradrachms, numerous subdivisions in silver and copper, and, last but not least, two re-issues of the old Persian staters.</p> <p>It is, however, only the tetradrachms that interest us here as they alone occurred in the Demanhur deposit. The first issue is made up of two separate but con-</p>	
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	<p>temporaneous groups of coins, the one distinguished by an 'A' beneath the throne, the other by a 'B'. Special control marks are supplied by pellets, singly or in groups, placed beneath the throne or in the field behind the Zeus figure. A few of the obverse dies were used indiscriminately for both groups. There are also several instances where a reverse die of either series has been employed for the other, after the old letter had been erased and a new one substituted.</p> <p>The second series is more uniform, and is distinguished throughout by a PLOW, perhaps symbolical of the far-famed fertility of the Tarsian plain. As special marks of control we find the pellets of the previous issue again used, and, in addition the letters, Β, Γ, Θ, and the symbols IVY LEAF and BUNCH OF GRAPES.</p> <p>The distinguishing mark of the third issue is a wreath-bearing NIKE. She is accompanied by varying letters and monograms, and, towards the end, by a CADUCEUS. In the course of this series the old "Cilician" style, made so familiar to us</p>
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<p>by the large issues of Persic staters bearing the names of Pharnabazus, Datames, and Mazaeus, is definitely abandoned, and a new style, purely Greek in character, is introduced.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CYPRUS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: SALAMIS.</p> <p><i>Circa 332 to 320 B. C. Nos. 2436-2544.</i></p> <p>The reasons for assigning these particular coins to Salamis in Cyprus have already been discussed in "Some Cypriote Alexanders" <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 4th Ser., vol. XV, 1915. The Salaminian tetradrachm issues contained in our hoard comprise both types of Series I, but only the first type of Series II as there described. In discussing these coins on that occasion, the writer hesitated to see in the BOW a city mint mark, such as the other cities of Cyprus were using at this period. On reviewing this subject the possible suggestion has occurred to him that perhaps the BOW might rather be the personal symbol of Nicocreon, king of Salamis from 331-310 B. C. It is to be noted that Nicocreon was the first to introduce</p>	
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•	<p>the type of Apollo on the Salaminian coinage of local types and Rhodian weights.³³ These coins were issued more or less simultaneously with those bearing the Alexander type. The fact of the introduction of an Apollo type by this king would lead to the supposition that Apollo probably represented his patron god. The use of the king's personal symbol on an Alexander issue, rather than a monogram or symbol designating the city itself, is paralleled on the Alexander issues of Byblus in Phoenicia. This city, which by the way was situated on the mainland opposite Salamis and was bound to it by ties of commerce, marked its earliest Alexander issues with the initial letters of its ruler's name.</p> <p>Our Salaminian coins are struck from dies adjusted †.</p> <p>Mint: CITIUM.</p> <p><i>Circa 332-320 B. C. Nos. 2545-2666.</i></p> <p>This series, too, was discussed by the writer in the above mentioned article in the <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> for 1915.</p>
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<p>The comparatively large number of this particular group of Cypriote Alexanders in the Demanhur find, points not only to the large size of the issue itself, but also to the probability of close commercial relations existing at that time between Cyprus and Egypt. In fact, specimens from the Cypriote mints have occurred in every hoard known to the writer as having been found in Egypt.</p> <p>Mint : PAPHOS.</p> <p><i>Circa 330 to 320 B. C. Nos. 2667-2682.</i></p> <p>No. 2667 (Plate V, 4) has been assigned to Paphos because of the symbol which appears to be intended to represent a dove rather than an eagle, as Müller believes. The style of the coin itself is distinctly "eastern", its peculiarities, however, make its attribution to Cyprus more plausible than to any city in Cilicia, Syria, or Phoenicia.</p> <p>Two interesting discoveries have recently³⁴ occurred to prove definitely the correctness of our assignment of Nos. 2668-2682 to Paphos. In the first place, bronze</p>	
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	<p>Alexander coins with the monogram  (= Π Α Φ Ι, as shown by the writer in "Some Cypriote Alexanders") have actually been found on the island of Cyprus. Secondly, the name of the famous king of Paphos, Nicocles, has been discovered by Mr. F. M. Endicott engraved in minute letters on the obverses of Nos. 2675, 2676. It is an interesting commentary on the ambitious character of this Cypriote king that he should have dared to inscribe, in however minute letters, his own name upon the coinage struck with Alexander's types. It was not until after 305 B. C., that such powerful kings as Lysimachus, Demetrius, or Seleucus followed in his footsteps and placed their several names upon the Alexander coinage.³⁵</p> <p>Mint: AMATHUS.</p> <p><i>Circa</i> 328 or later. Nos. 2683-2714.</p> <p>The tetradrachm No. 2683 (Plate VI, 1) has been transferred from Paphos (where Mr. Hill assigned it in the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of Cyprus) and given, instead, to Amathus. In the first</p>
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<p>place, the flying eagle (not dove), exactly as we see it on this coin, constantly appears on the autonomous coins of Amathus. On autonomous Paphian issues the dove is never depicted in the attitude of flight. In the second place, this coin is quite unlike the remaining Alexander issues of Paphos, while its reverse has many points in common with Nos. 2684-2714. This similarity is to be seen particularly in the details of the Zeus figure.</p> <p>Nos. 2684-2714, distinguished by the symbol PROW, are typically eastern in style. The details of this style, however, point to Cyprus as the home of the mint which struck the coins. They will not satisfactorily fit in with the issues of Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, or Egypt — but partake of a little of the style of each. Furthermore, we have at our disposal no seaport town in any of these particular provinces which is either without a coinage already assigned to it, or which could have struck so large a series as the present issue apparently is. The fact that specimens occur in at least three out of the six hoards found in Egypt,</p>	
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	<p>of which we have records, speaks well for a Cypriote origin. For between that island and Egypt the ties of commerce and trade were closely knit. Particularly would this be the case with the two harbors on the southern coast of Cyprus—Curium and Amathus—to which no Alexander coinage has as yet been assigned. We know also that during the Persian period the mint at Amathus was very active and struck a large series of silver coins.³⁶ It is most reasonable to suppose therefore, that like its sister cities of Cyprus, Amathus should have continued to strike money under Alexander. There is no series of Alexander tetradrachms at our disposal whose origin is more likely to have been at Amathus than the group distinguished by the PROW symbol. We have also a tetradrachm (No. 2683) which bears the flying eagle peculiar to these autonomous issues of Amathus, and is therefore most likely to have been struck in that city. This piece forms the connecting link between the autonomous coinage and Nos. 2684-2714 with the PROW symbol.</p>
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<p>Mint: MARIUM.</p> <p>No. 2715.</p> <p>The reasons for attributing this variety to Marium in Cyprus have been discussed in the writer's "Some Cypriote Alexanders" in the <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 4th Series, vol. XV, pp. 320, 321.</p> <p>Mint: SOLI.</p> <p>Nos. 2716-2718.</p> <p>These three tetradrachms are here only tentatively assigned to Cyprus. The style, which appears to be copied from some of the Egyptian issues, is not impossible for Cyprus. The symbol CADUCEUS is perhaps not unconnected with the little Cypriote bronze coin, of late style and bearing on its reverse a caduceus flanked by the Cypriote signs for Ba — E. The unique specimen of this piece was first published by the writer in the <i>Amer. Jour. of Num.</i>, vol. XLVIII, p. 69, No. 31. There the suggestion was made that this coin should be attributed to Eunostus, king of Soli, who reigned from 330 to 310 B. C. It is not</p>	
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	<p>unlikely that our Alexander tetradrachms were also struck by that king and signed with his symbol, the Caduceus. This would be paralleled by the use of the Bow on the Salaminian Alexanders of Nicocreon.</p> <p>NORTHERN SYRIA.</p> <p>Mint: MYRIANDRUS.</p> <p><i>Circa</i> 333 to 319 B. C. Nos. 2719-2896.</p> <p>This series, by its style, is more or less closely associated with the Cilician group (mint: Tarsus) described above. That it could not possibly have been struck by some city in Cilicia but must instead be assigned to Myriandrus (later Alexandria ad Issum) has recently been shown by the writer in <i>Amer. Jour. of Num.</i>, vol. LIII, Part II, pp. 1-42. The reasons for this attribution are there given in detail. The various series into which the Alexander issues of Myriandrus fall, and the dates to be assigned to them, are likewise there described.</p> <p>Myriandrus, by reason of its commanding situation, had grown to be commercially</p>
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the most important city in all northern Syria. Possessed of a splendid harbor, the roomiest and best protected on the coast, the city became the terminus of the great trade route, via the Beilan Pass, into the plains of inner Syria. She completely dominated the shortest and most practical road linking the Mediterranean with Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and the East. In fact, before Antioch and Seleucia on the Orontes had come to supercede her as the main outlet for the overland trade from Babylon and India, Myriandrus enjoyed an importance relatively far greater than Alexandretta, her representative in the Middle Ages and down to the opening of the Suez Canal. We may thus appreciate this north Syrian seaport at its true worth as the western terminus of the most frequented trade-route and military highway from Babylonia to the Mediterranean. Alexander's farsighted statesmanship immediately recognized the vital importance of the spot. This fact is indicated in no uncertain way by the foundation here of a city named after him, Alexandria kat'Isson

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	<p>— one of the very first of the many strategic or commercial centres established by him, and also one of the two which today preserve his illustrious name intact.</p> <p>It is not surprising to find that the preceding Persian mint located in this important city continued its activity under Alexander and issued a very large series of his coins. These are well represented in the Demanhur hoard.</p> <p>Mint: HIERAPOLIS-BAMBYCE (?).</p> <p>No. 2897.</p> <p>The proposed assignment of this coin (Plate VI, 2) is still open to doubt. Its style closely resembles that found on the issues of Tarsus, Myriandrus, and some of the Phoenician cities, yet is still too individual to allow its insertion among the coinages of any of these mints. The actual cutting of the dies is also somewhat cruder. Now we know³⁷ that a considerable issue of Persic silver staters took place in the very important religious and commercial centre of Bambyce in the period that im-</p>
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mediately preceded and immediately succeeded the arrival of Alexander the Great. These issues, too, are in imitation of the contemporaneous coinages of both Tarsus and Myriandrus, and their execution is crude to the same degree as that of our tetradrachm, No. 2897. Furthermore, on the last issue of these local staters, on a coin³⁸ actually bearing the name of Alexander in Aramaic characters, appears as magistrate's sign the Greek letter M. This coin is perhaps the transitional piece between the local coinages of Persic silver staters and the introduction of the Alexander tetradrachm. At any rate, there is no other locality in all the eastern district to which this lone tetradrachm fits so well as to Hierapolis-Bambyce. Its possible attribution to that important city is therefore suggested here.

COELE-SYRIA.

Mint: DAMASCUS.

Nos. 2898-3266.





The abundant Alexander coinage of this famous Syrian metropolis is naturally well

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	<p>represented in the Demanhur hoard. Mistress of the great inner highway running north and south, inland emporium for the surrounding lands and the neighboring desert tribes, commercial intermediary between these tribes and the trading centres of the Phoenician litoral, the coinage of Damascus was, in the very nature of things, one of the most important in these regions. At the time our hoard was buried the decay, which later set in with the founding and rapid growth of Alexandria in Egypt, had not yet made itself perceptibly felt. The commerce enjoyed by Damascus was evidently active and in consequence her coinage was large.</p> <p>A detailed study of the issues represented by Nos. 2898 to 3266 show that these really fall into several consecutive series. The present hardly furnishes a suitable opportunity for such a study, and therefore the separate issues have here been united under one large series covering about twelve years of time. The dies for this large coinage were invariably adjusted ↑ ↑.</p>
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<p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST.</p> <p>Mint: CARNE.</p> <p>Nos. 3267 and 3268.</p> <p>At the time of Alexander's invasion of Phoenicia, the considerable seaport of Carne does not seem to have been a direct subject of the neighboring Aradus. At least we infer this from the fact that Arrian³⁹ does not expressly name this city among the towns (Marathus, Sigon, Mariamne) of the <i>πρόσθιοι</i> of Aradus. This is strange as it was at least as important as Sigon and Mariamne, and we might well have expected Arrian therefore to have mentioned its surrender by the king's son, Straton, to Alexander, along with the other cities of his realm. Also, we know Carne enjoyed a certain amount of freedom from Aradian supremacy at a later date. For like Marathus she issued a considerable series of coins in both silver and bronze. (Brit. Mus Cat., <i>Phoenicia</i>, xxxviii.)</p> <p>If then the ancient city of Carne claimed independence when Alexander arrived in Phoenicia, it is likely that she imitated her</p>	
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	<p>larger neighbor and struck coins of the Alexander type. Because of her lesser importance the series is probably small.</p> <p>The group of tetradrachms represented by Nos. 3267 and 3268 would admirably suit a mint at Carne. The obverse of the first coin represents many stylistic affinities with Nos. 3269-3285, the first Alexandrine issue at Aradus. Details of the reverse, however, such as the position of Zeus' feet, coupled with the total absence of any footstool, resemble the issues of Salamis in Cyprus. Now the important seaport of Salamis lay directly opposite to Carne and was no doubt connected with it by ties of commerce. The next issue, No. 3268, is an almost exact copy of the contemporaneous coinage at Aradus (Nos. 3334-3466) in the details of both obverse and reverse. These coins must surely have been struck at a town not far from Aradus, or at least directly under the influence of its coinage.</p> <p>Finally, the monogram κ with which our coins are provided most easily resolves itself into KAP. It is to be noted that</p>
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<p>the <i>alpha</i> of the monogram does not possess the straight bar necessary for this letter at so early a date. The cross-bar is distinctly curved, which would thus almost certainly presuppose the presence of the letter <i>rho</i> in the monogram.</p> <p>Like the other cities of Phoenicia and Cyprus at this time, then, it seems probable that Carne commenced an issue of Alexander tetradrachms. Like them it was also allowed to mark its issues with a monogram of local significance.</p> <p>Mint: ARADUS.</p> <p>Nos. 3269-3585.</p> <p>Among the earliest Alexander issues of Aradus must be placed a very rare coin, published⁴⁰ by M. Babelon, which apparently was not present in the Demanhur find. This is a tetradrachm bearing in the field of the reverse the Phoenician letters 𐤏𐤓. This same inscription occurs on all the fourth century autonomous issues of Aradus. Similar to this tetradrachm in style are our Nos. 3269-3285, but on these the Phoenician letters of the mint's name</p>	
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	<p>are replaced by the Greek letter 'A' beneath the throne. The Γ in the field is a magistrate's letter. On the succeeding issues we find the magistrates signing their initials on the obverse (just behind the neck of the Heracles head), while the 'A' has been elaborated into the monogram , more distinctive of the Aradian mint. In passing, attention should be called to an interesting gold stater, first published by Gesenius⁴¹ and later by Wiczay⁴² and Sestini,⁴³ examples of which are to be seen in the Paris, London, and Berlin collections. This stater embodies the peculiarities of two of the above tetradrachm issues. Behind the head of Athene we find the letter 'Δ' as on Nos. 3286-3288. On the reverse we not only find the monogram  of those tetradrachms, but also the accustomed legend  of the Aradian autonomous issues. Would that their mints had been so clearly indicated on all of Alexander's coinages!</p> <p>With No. 3302 the style of the Aradian issues changes perceptibly, the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is added, but the mint mark </p>
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<p>remains. The sequence of these particular issues was discussed more or less minutely in the <i>Amer. Jour. of Num.</i>, vol. XLVI, 1912, pp. 42-44. We will therefore refrain from again going over the ground, and need only pause to reiterate, more strongly than ever, that the letters A, Δ, I, Ι, Λ, and Ξ found singly in the reverse fields, should not be considered as alphabetical dates.⁴⁴ They are probably initials used by the various magistrates. The magistrate using the symbol CADUCEUS was the latest of the group, being in office just before the name of Philip III was substituted for that of Alexander on the Aradian coinage. Apparently no specimens of these later issues, struck in the name of Philip, were present in the Demanhur hoard.</p> <p>None of the Aradian coins we have here described seem to have been struck from fixed or adjusted dies, a process so freely used at this time in the other Phoenician mints.</p>	
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	<p>Mint: BYBLUS.</p> <p>Nos. 3586-3652.</p> <p>Alexander issues corresponding to Nos. 3586-3652 have always, until now, been assigned to Aradus. In his previous article on the Demanhur hoard, the writer followed his predecessors, but stated⁴⁵ that it was difficult to reconcile the style and appearance of these pieces with the issues (Nos. 3286-3585) which certainly belonged to Aradus. It was therefore necessary to make the very improbable suggestion that these two series might both have been struck in Aradus, but that perhaps the one was a local city issue, the other a military or regal issue. Very fortunately the Demanhur hoard is now known to have contained a tetradrachm, hitherto unpublished, which presents a solution to the problem. This is the remarkable piece, No. 3586, pictured on Plate VI, 3. The coin is of early date, and of Phoenician origin as shown by the two Phoenician characters 'Y beneath the throne. Its style and fabric is so close to the earliest</p>
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<p>issues of Nos. 3587-3623 that it must be considered as the immediate precursor of those pieces and struck in the same mint. This means, however, that the entire group could not possibly have been struck in Aradus. This conclusion is further substantiated by the fact that our coins are invariably struck from adjusted dies, and we have already seen that this is not the case with the issues certainly emanating from the mint of Aradus.</p> <p>Nos. 3587-3623 are of modified 'Cilician' style, very similar, as a comparison will quickly show, to the earliest issues of Sidon and Ake. Now there is only one remaining mint in all this district which could possibly have struck such an important series as the one represented by Nos. 3586-3652. This is the ancient and flourishing city of Byblus. It would have been surprising indeed if this city had not struck money in Alexander's name. History teaches us that Alexander made it his constant policy in the East to confirm in their rule such local princes as submitted to him without a struggle. Also</p>	
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	<p>a study of his coins presents us with the undeniable fact that wherever such local dynasts had, under Persian rule, enjoyed the rights of coinage, these were reaffirmed to them by their new over-lord. Thus we possess Alexander issues of Tarsus, Aradus, Sidon, Salamis, Citium, Paphos, Marium, and Amathus. Tyre and Gaza form illuminating exceptions. Although they had enjoyed the rights of coinage under the Persians, they were deprived of this coveted privilege by Alexander because they had refused him submission.</p> <p>If by a process of elimination we see that only Byblus could have issued Nos. 3586-3652, we find a striking confirmation of this attribution in the presence on these coins of Ψ and Φ. The king ruling in Byblus at the time of Alexander's invasion of Phoenicia bore the name of Ainel, or, in Greek, Enylos as given by Arrian.⁴⁶ Of this ruler we possess tetrobols bearing local types. The weights of some of these pieces belong to the Attic system. As this is the very first occurrence of that system in the Byblite coinage, it is proba-</p>
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<p>ble that these particular coins were struck after the submission of the city to Alexander. The name of the king on these coins reads עִינְלוֹ (Ainel). Now the first two letters of this inscription are exactly the two that appear beneath the throne on No. 3586 (Plate VI, 3). In other words, they prove that this tetradrachm was struck by Enylos. Again, following the local issues of Enylos, there exists ⁴⁷ another group of small denominations of local types and Attic weight bearing the name of the next ruler אֲדֵרַמֶּלֶךְ or Adramelek. Is it not at once apparent that, Α, the monogram on the subsequent tetradrachms (Nos. 3587-3652, Plate VI, 4) is but the ligature of the letters ΑΔΡΑ, the first portion of Adramelek's name in Greek?</p> <p>The Alexander issues now assigned to Byblus are all struck from adjusted dies. In this they but follow the process used for the previous autonomous coinage of this city.</p>	
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	<p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST.</p> <p>Mint: BERYTUS.</p> <p>No. 3653.</p> <p>The assignment to Berytus of No. 3653 is fairly certain. The six known varieties of this group all bear the letter B in the field and are closely allied by style with the coinages of both Byblus and Sidon. In fact, the indications as furnished by style are so strong, that hardly any other attribution is possible.</p> <p>As there are no really early issues known, it appears probable that a mint was not opened at Berytus until after the death of Alexander. At this time the chaotic conditions prevalent almost everywhere in the Empire favored the assumption by various cities of the right to strike money. That Berytus had not yet grown equal in importance to her rivals on the north and south may be surmised from the comparative scarcity of her coinage.</p>
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<p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST(?).</p> <p>Mint: UNCERTAIN.</p> <p>Nos. 3654, 3655.</p> <p>A plausible attribution of these coins is still impossible, though the style and details of both obverse and reverse dies show certain affinities with the issues of Sidon.</p> <p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST.</p> <p>Mint: SIDON.</p> <p>Nos. 3656-3768.</p> <p>As the Alexander coinage of this mint has been studied in a special monograph,¹⁴ references to that work have been given rather than to Müller who was aware of but a portion of the known varieties. It will prove unnecessary to go into details here, as these the reader may find described and discussed in the above-mentioned work.</p> <p>The Sidonian Alexander coinage was inaugurated almost immediately upon</p>	
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	<p>Alexander's arrival in that city. During the following two years the Phoenician letter ז, the initial of the city's name צור, is found in the field of the tetradrachms, while beneath the throne are the alphabetical dates נ or ג. The series that follows omits dates entirely, substitutes the Greek letters ξ or ξ of the city's name, and on two varieties places a symbol in the field. In 327 B. C. the custom of dating the issues is re-introduced and the Phoenician date letters י, ח, ט, ' appear in the field. In the course of the year 323 B. C. Greek alphabetical dates are substituted for the Phoenician. In 320 B. C. the name of Philip replaces that of Alexander.</p> <p>The last date known to have occurred in the Demanhur hoard is O, which corresponds to the year falling between the first of October 319 B. C. and the thirtieth of September 318 B. C. It is interesting and important to note that every known variety of the Sidonian Alexander tetradrachm, from the first opening of the mint down to the year O (319-318 B. C.) is represented in our hoard.</p>
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<p>This would seem to be an opportune time to suggest a possible explanation for the curious absence of any apparent coinage during the year Λ (323-322 B. C.). Our lack of coins, either in gold or silver, for this year can hardly be due to chance. It would be strange indeed if the Demanhur hoard, so well provided with all the remaining Sidonian issues, should lack any examples of this particular date. The same is true of other large Alexander hoards known to the writer who, furthermore, for the last fifteen years has carried on an active search for the missing date — but without success.</p> <p>As long ago as 1909 Mr. Hill drew attention ⁴⁹ to the absence of any coins dated Λ and suggested that Müller (or rather Mionnet, his source) might have misread Λ as A on his coin No. 1420. The coin has unfortunately since disappeared and we have no means of checking the reading. The coin, however, was placed by Müller among those of later style, Nos. 1415 to 1422, and these the present writer has elsewhere ⁵⁰ shown must cer-</p>	
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tainly be attributed to Sinope.

Either, then, we must suppose no coins whatever to have been struck in this year ⁵¹ or we must look for some other plausible explanation of the lacuna. Now there apparently lurks a clue in the following interesting observation. Taking the dated gold coinage of Sidon and noting the dies actually used for each year, we get the following table:

Year	Obverse dies	Reverse dies
ι	Q	α
π	Q	α
ϐ	Q	α
κ } K }	Q, R, S, T, U, V	{ α, β, γ { α, β, γ
M	W, X	α, β, γ
N	Y, Z, AA, BB	α, β
Ξ	BB, CC	α, β
Π	CC	α
Σ	CC, DD, EE	α, β, γ, δ
Τ	FF, GG, HH	α, β
Φ	II	α
Υ	II	α
Α	JJ	α

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<p>It will at once be seen that year 10 (' and K)⁵² is conspicuous for possessing more obverse and reverse dies than any other one year. With its six obverses and six reverses it is far above the average of some two or three dies (obverse or reverse) engraved and used yearly. The case of the silver issues for the tenth year is not quite so marked as that of the gold. For while, even here, we find that the ' and K issues have two obverse dies and five reverse dies, this is a high but not an exceptional figure for the Sidonian coinage. The case of the gold, however, remains very striking.</p> <p>Now the only alternative to the somewhat unlikely supposition that there really was no coinage in the year Λ is to suppose that ' and K actually represent different years. But it is certain that ' is ten. Then K must be the following year—and at once a simple explanation arises to the mind to account for the seeming anomaly. It must be remembered that the die engravers at Sidon were assuredly not Greeks but native Phoenicians.</p>	
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	<p>They had used the Phoenician alphabet to designate the dates 1(𐤁), 2(𐤂), 7(𐤇), 8(𐤈), 9(𐤉), 10(𐤊). The next date would have been represented in their alphabet by 𐤋, the eleventh letter. But if now, at the commencement of the new year, the order came in to replace the Phoenician alphabetical dates with Greek letters, what would have been the most natural thing for a Phoenician die cutter, thinking of the Greek alphabet in terms of his own, to have done? Obviously, instead of engraving the next succeeding or eleventh Phoenician letter, namely, 𐤋 Kaph, it is very likely that unthinkingly he might have used <i>its actua! Greek equivalent</i>, namely Κ. Now Κ is the eleventh letter in the Greek numerical (decadic) system, though here it stands for 20. In the alphabetical system, however, it is only ten, as digamma was omitted. Thus there were two stumbling blocks for the unwary Phoenician to trip over in making a hasty shift from his own alphabetical dates to the Greek. Probably it was brought to the attention of the local authorities even-</p>
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<p>tually that K did not represent eleven in the Greek alphabetical numeration, as its equivalent Kaph does in the Phoenician. Perhaps, however, the mistake was not noticed until many coins bearing the offending K had already been issued, and so it was not deemed advisable, because of the resultant confusion, to strike new coins that year bearing the more correct Λ. So K was allowed to continue doing duty for Λ. But at the commencement of the new year, the twelfth after the coming of Alexander to Phoenicia, the correct alphabetical designation of this year, namely M, was placed upon the coinage.</p> <p>This would seem to offer a simple as well as a plausible explanation for the otherwise surprising fact of the apparent lack of any coinage in the year Λ. By assigning the K coins to the eleventh instead of to the tenth year, we also do away with the surprisingly large number of dies which we otherwise would have to give to the latter year.</p>	
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	<p>THE PHOENICIAN COAST.</p> <p>Mint: AKE.</p> <p>Nos. 3769-3975.</p> <p>For the references given in the catalogue and for a detailed study of the coins themselves the reader is again referred to the writer's previous monograph on the subject.⁵³</p> <p>As far as is now known there was no autonomous mint in operation at Ake under the Persians. When Alexander first established a mint here, to take the place of the one in the destroyed city of Tyre, he found no ready-made means to this end at his disposal. Therefore, there was transferred from Sidon to Ake a die cutter, as well as an actual obverse die which had already seen service in the former mint.⁵⁴</p> <p>The first few issues at Ake bear only magistrate symbols or letters. Then there was adopted the initial letter γ of the city's name $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$; to be followed not long afterwards by the more complete form $\gamma\epsilon$. Sometime in the year corresponding to</p>
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<p>327-326 B. C., a system of dating according to the regnal years of the local dynast was introduced. This occurred in the twentieth year of that ruler. The latest date included in the Demanhur hoard is his 29th year, corresponding to 319-318 B. C. (Plate VII, 2). Being dated, the two coinages of Sidon and Ake furnish us with the surest criterion for determining the true date at which our hoard was buried. Unfortunately, when first treating of the find,⁵⁶ the material at the writer's disposal was insufficient to appreciate these Ake dates in their true significance. Instead, the most reasonable one of the many views held by previous writers on the subject was adopted. The Ake dates were referred to the era of Alexander the Great in Phoenicia, which took its inception with the Autumn of 333 B. C. This, however, caused the last Ake date, known to have occurred in the find, to be very much at variance with the evidence offered by the Sidonian dates from the same source. The facile explanation of this disturbing discrepancy lay in the fact that</p>	
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	<p>the writer was well aware that at that time he had seen but a portion of the original hoard, and therefore many important varieties might have escaped him. The question was most interesting and important, and so special endeavors were made to secure all available material for the study of the dated issues of both Sidon and Ake. This resulted in the eventual publication by the Yale Press of a monograph entirely devoted to this one subject. Here it was possible to prove that the dates used on the Ake Alexanders cannot refer to any era of Alexander the Great, Seleucus I, or such other eras as had been suggested by previous students. <i>The dates can only refer to the regnal years of some local dynast.</i> They were first used in the twentieth year of his reign, which corresponds with 327-326 B. C. This changes the aspect of things entirely, brings the Ake dates into complete concordance with those of Sidon in the Demanhur hoard, and considerably alters the date previously suggested for the burial of that hoard.</p>
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<p>In his review ⁵⁶ of the author's work on Ake, Mr. Hill makes the suggestion that the dates found on the Alexandrine coinage of that city may be based on an era inaugurated at the end of the great Phoenician rebellion of 348 B. C. In other words, he hesitates to accept our dates as representing the regnal years of a local potentate. Mr. Hill's suggestion is indeed plausible, and it is only after mature consideration that the writer still adheres to his former supposition. For between the end of the rebellion, with its supposititious granting of greater freedom to Ake, and the arrival of Alexander, some fifteen or sixteen years had elapsed. No coinage, autonomous or otherwise, had in the meanwhile appeared in Ake to establish the custom of dating by that era. The importance of this era to Ake must have been completely overshadowed in 333 B. C. by the cataclysmic arrival of the Greeks and the fundamental changes brought about by that event in all Phoenicia. To the authorities in Ake, in the year 327 B. C., the compara-</p>	
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	<p>tively recent events of 333 B. C. must have appeared of far more importance and significance — at least so it seems reasonable to assume — than those of 348 B. C. We <i>know</i> things were vastly altered in 333–332 B. C., but we have absolutely no historical records to show that, as far as Ake was concerned, there had been the granting of any special privilege of such importance that a new era should therefore be inaugurated. It seems much more probable to suppose merely that a new king had secured the power, or that a more loyal subject had been appointed by the Persian king as dynast in Ake.</p> <p>Now there would be nothing so very extraordinary in a local ruler in 327–326 B. C. adopting his regnal years as a means to date a purely local coinage of the Alexandrine type. At this very time a king of Byblus places his monogram on his coinage, a little later Pumiathon of Citium places his name, regnal dates, and types upon his gold coinage, while Nicocles of Paphos engraves his name in full upon his Alexanders. For</p>
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<p>these reasons the writer feels justified in retaining his theory of regnal years to explain the dates found on the Alexander issues of Ake.</p> <p>UNCERTAIN MINTS IN THE EAST.</p> <p>Nos. 3976-3979</p> <p>The mints which once issued the above pieces may have lain, to judge by the style of the coins themselves, in Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, or even Phoenicia. The symbol found on Nos. 3976-8 is very similar to the reverse type of the autonomous issues of Soli in Cilicia. On the other hand the Persic staters issued under Alexander from the central mint of Tarsus bear the initials Σ, M, I, T (= Soli, Mallus, Issus, Tarsus). This would seem to prove that Soli, as well as Mallus and Issus, possessed no separate mints of their own at this time. We should note, however, that the bunch of grapes with tendril and leaf as held in the hand of Dionysus is a conspicuous feature on the latest autonomous staters of Nagidus. As we know of no other Alexander coinage for the important dis-</p>	
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	<p>trict of western Cilicia, and as the style of our coins would easily admit of such an attribution, it is quite probable that they were struck in Nagidus.</p> <p>Concerning No. 3979 nothing definite can be said until future finds come to our aid with new specimens or varieties. This piece does not appear to fit in with any of the issues of such mints as we have already studied. Its style, however, is not unlike some of the later issues of Cyprus.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BABYLONIA.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mint: BABYLON.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Nos. 3980-4609.</p> <p>Babylon — the greatest city of Asia and the capital of empires from the days of Hammurabi, the law giver — had probably possessed a mint under the Persian kings. Continued by Alexander it became, next to the Macedonian mint of Amphipolis, the most important in all his Empire. Here, until the removal of the mint to Seleucia on the Tigris, were struck an extraordinary quantity of coins. Our ancient authorities make the</p>
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<p>assertion that Alexander intended to continue this great metropolis as the capital and centre of his own empire, and it is reasonable to suppose therefore that a mint commensurate with this importance would soon be established here.</p> <p>Babylon at this time was the central mart of the East. Hither ran the great overland trade route from India and Bactria via Ecbatana. Here were also the wharfs for the ships which in their holds carried the goods of farthest Asia via the Coromandel Coast, through the Persian Gulf and so up to Babil or Bâb-ili, meaning "the Gate of the Gods," in fact the "Sublime Porte" of the ancients. Hence the imported goods, as also those for which Babylon itself was famous, such as embroideries, rugs, and fabrics of various kinds, were taken up the Tigris or Euphrates and thence to shores of the Mediterranean or into Asia Minor. When the armies of Alexander and the genius of their commander had made one empire from the Adriatic to the Indus, the importance of Babylon, temporarily, increased</p>	
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	<p>many fold. For now the markets of the West were thrown wide open, the freedom and safety of the trade routes by land and sea assured, the demand for eastern luxuries fostered and made possible of acquirement among the Greeks by the sudden influx of immense quantities of booty and treasure from the conquered cities of Asia. For all this traffic Babylon remained the focus of the land and sea routes until about 300 B. C. By that time Alexandria in Egypt had grown into an important city, and, because of the skilful policy of Ptolemy and the constant internecine wars of the Diadochi, which made land travel especially unsafe and intermittent, had deflected a large part of this traffic by way of the Red Sea to herself. But throughout the last quarter of the fourth century B. C., Babylon flourished exceedingly. During this time quantities of coin were apparently issued by her very active mint.</p> <p>The Demanhur hoard contained a large and representative series of the Babylonian tetradrachm issues covering the first</p>
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<p>twelve years of their production. Only a tabulated list of the varieties known to have been in the find is here given. The minute discussion of these varieties, their true sequence, their dates, together with the many other points of historic, numismatic, and archaeological interest they present, must be left to a more propitious moment when it will be possible to publish a monograph devoted to this coinage as a whole. Only in this way will it be possible to do justice to one of the greatest and most interesting series of all the Alexander coinage.</p> <p>The late M. Imhoof-Blumer was the first to recognize the true origin of this series and to attribute it to Babylon.⁵⁷ But even he hardly appreciated the magnitude and importance of the coinage.</p> <p>The dies for the coins of Series I (Nos. 3980 to 4057) were adjusted ↑↑, in accordance with the system employed under Persian rule for the darics and sigli. With the employment of new die cutters, commencing with No. 4058, the dies are no longer adjusted.</p>	
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	<p>EGYPT.</p> <p>Mint: ALEXANDRIA.</p> <p>Nos. 4610-4826.</p> <p>Svoronos has assigned⁵⁸ four early types of the Alexander tetradrachm to Alexandria in Egypt, and they were all represented in the Demanhur Find. One of these varieties, however, has had to be assigned by the present writer to Asia Minor (here Nos. 1751-1754) because of its style and other close affinities with the issues of that district. The remaining varieties were certainly struck in Egypt. To them must be added the types here enumerated under Nos. 4610-4747 and 4820-4821, for these coins are identical in style and fabric with the pieces correctly given to Alexandria by Svoronos. Furthermore, specimens have occurred in six other Egyptian hoards known to the writer,⁵⁹ while they are seldom met with outside of Egypt. The large number and extraordinary preservation of the specimens from Demanhur would seem finally to confirm their supposed Egyptian ori-</p>
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<p>gin. It is interesting to note that the type with the rose as symbol possessed more specimens in the Demanhur find than any other one type (all together 134 pieces, or 138 if we add the slight variant Nos. 4610-4614). Originally there may have been many more than this number, as was the case with another of the Egyptian types. In his letter M. Dattari stated to the writer that there were over a hundred specimens in the find of the 'Khnum' (Nos. 4748-4780) type, although the writer actually saw only 33 specimens of this beautiful coin.</p> <p>An interesting point brought out by a study of the Demanhur hoard is the fact that no mint was apparently opened by Alexander in Egypt until at a comparatively late date. This was suggested by M. Svoronos in his work on the Ptolemaic coinage, but is now definitely confirmed by our hoard. From the evidence of the dated coins of Sidon and Ake, the hoard cannot have been buried <i>before</i> 318 B. C. Now there are only five distinct varieties of the tetradrachm in our hoard</p>	
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	<p>that can be assigned to Alexandria; and of these, two — those with the Ear of Barley (VII, 3) and the Pegasus symbols (VIII, 1) — represent very small issues.⁶⁰ The style exhibited by these coins is so similar throughout that their issue could not have covered a very long period of time. If we assign the opening of the Alexandria mint, then, to in and around the year 326–325 B. C., we shall probably not be far wrong. These Alexandrian issues were first used as a model for the Sidonian coinage in the year which ran from October 1, 325, to September 30, 324 B. C.</p> <p>It is still somewhat uncertain whether our hoard contained any specimens of the next series of Egyptian Alexander tetradrachms, those, namely, with the portrait of Alexander himself, clothed in the elephant's skin head-dress, on the obverse (Svoronos, Nos. 18–24, 93). These must have followed closely upon the series described above, as the Zeus figure of the reverse is identical in style and details with that found on our coins. One</p>
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<p>variety, moreover (Svoronos, No. 93), has the same symbol and monogram as our Nos. 4822-4826. M. Dattari was of the opinion that the Demanhur Hoard contained ten of these pieces. Although M. Dattari is in all probability absolutely right, they have not been included in our study, as the writer has throughout been careful to limit himself only to the pieces he has actually seen and handled.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PUNCHMARKS</p> <p>Little further can be added to the notes on punchmarks and "graffiti," as discussed by the writer in his previous study of the Demanhur hoard. Only four varieties of punchmarks have been noted on coins from this hoard. The first consists of a pellet in the centre of a sunken circle, with six rays running out from the pellet to the circle's edge, the whole resembling a wheel. This punchmark was found on only one coin in the hoard, Plate VIII, No. 2. The second type occurs somewhat more frequently. Usually indistinct and poorly struck up, it seems</p>	
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	<p>to represent a human eye. Three specimens (coins of Amphipolis, Salamis, and Byblus) are given on Plate VIII, 3-5. The third punchmark appears just once, on a coin of Tarsus, here Plate VIII, No. 6. It consists apparently of the three Phoenician letters, 'מ', in an oblong depression. The fourth punchmark consists of a small circle containing a raised pellet. The pellet is joined to the circle at top and bottom by narrow necks or bands. This type of punchmark occurred twice in our hoard, once on a coin of type 2334-2338 and once on a coin of type 3300-3301.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GRAFFITI</p> <p>"Graffiti," or letters scratched on the surface (usually on the reverse), are of very frequent occurrence on coins from the Demanhur find. The letters may be Greek or Phoenician, and, as a rule, come singly or in pairs. In some cases we seem to have Phoenician words of three or more letters. These are probably names. They furnish enough material for a special monograph on the subject. As such a</p>
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<p>monograph has been promised by Prof. C. C. Torrey of Yale, the present writer, who makes no pretences to Semitic scholarship, will be forgiven if he leaves this interesting subject to a more able pen.</p> <p>SCIENTIFIC VALUE</p> <p>From more than one point of view the Demanhur hoard is of peculiar value and interest to us. By mere size alone it is most impressive. In point of fact it is the largest hoard of Alexander tetradrachms ever known to have been found. It is also the second earliest hoard of this denomination, the earliest being the Kyparissia Find recently described.⁶¹ Of surpassing value to us, however, is the fact that because of its size and scope it contained practically every variety of the Alexander tetradrachm coined previous to 320 B. C. The issues of the succeeding two or three years are well, though not completely, represented. It thus furnishes us with a remarkable survey of the coinage of this particular denomination as issued by Alexander the</p>	
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	<p>Great, and enables us to establish, once for all, what types were or were not struck during his lifetime.</p> <p>The distortion of view, which might be expected to have been shown by a hoard of widely struck coins buried in a province lying as much to one side as is the case with Egypt, is hardly noticeable. The issues of only one or two mints have suffered, the remainder are represented in direct proportion to the size and importance of their tetradrachm issues. The two largest of Alexander's mints, Amphipolis and Babylon, furnish us with 1582 and 630 coins respectively, or together nearly one half of the entire hoard as it has come down to us. The only distortions noticeable are indeed slight. One or two varieties of the Pella mint seem to be missing, while the early tetradrachms of northern and western Asia Minor are not very strongly represented. Judgments as to the true size of the various mintages are based by the writer on his carefully kept records of the number of obverse and reverse dies known for the</p>
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<p>various mints. To illustrate, a brief table is here appended showing the number of dies used at some of the most important mints for the period covered by the Demanhur hoard. These totals have been secured from a study of the thousands of Alexander tetradrachms preserved in the various public and private collections of Europe and America.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PERIOD 336-318 B. C.</p> <table> <tr> <th><i>Mint.</i></th><th><i>Obverse dies known.</i></th><th><i>Reverse dies known.</i></th><th><i>Number of coins in Demanhur Hoard.</i></th></tr> <tr> <td>Amphipolis</td><td>705</td><td>1281</td><td>1582</td></tr> <tr> <td>Babylon</td><td>172</td><td>498</td><td>630</td></tr> <tr> <td>Tarsus</td><td>69</td><td>306 ⁶²</td><td>462</td></tr> <tr> <td>Myriandrus</td><td>25</td><td>122 ⁶²</td><td>178</td></tr> <tr> <td>Sidon</td><td>24</td><td>60 ⁶²</td><td>113</td></tr> <tr> <td>Ake</td><td>25</td><td>130 ⁶²</td><td>207</td></tr> <tr> <td>Alexandria</td><td>43</td><td>150</td><td>217</td></tr> </table> <p>Apparently, then, our hoard is able to furnish us with easily accessible and fairly accurate criteria for gauging the comparative sizes of the various issues of the tetradrachm under Alexander the Great.</p>			<i>Mint.</i>	<i>Obverse dies known.</i>	<i>Reverse dies known.</i>	<i>Number of coins in Demanhur Hoard.</i>	Amphipolis	705	1281	1582	Babylon	172	498	630	Tarsus	69	306 ⁶²	462	Myriandrus	25	122 ⁶²	178	Sidon	24	60 ⁶²	113	Ake	25	130 ⁶²	207	Alexandria	43	150	217	
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A N D M O N O G R A P H S																																			

152	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p data-bbox="760 436 1076 472" style="text-align: center;">DATE OF BURIAL.</p> <p data-bbox="553 491 1284 1686">To determine the approximate burial date of the Demanhur Hoard is not difficult — now that the dated coinages of Sidon and Ake are better understood. Of these Sidonian issues every year is represented from \aleph through ι, and the succeeding Greek dates from κ to \omicron inclusive. The tetradrachm bearing the last-named date must have been coined between October 1st of 319 and September 30 of 318 B. C. Similarly, every Ake date is represented from the first use of dates on its coins in the 20th year of the local dynast's reign down to and including his 29th year. The writer has elsewhere ⁶³ shown that these dates are to be reckoned from the year 348–347 B. C., which brings the year 29 to 319–318 B. C. Thus both series exactly agree in placing the probable burial of the Demanhur Hoard at a date not earlier than the commencement of 318 B. C. On the other hand, the hoard could not have been buried much after the commencement of 317 at the latest. The dated coin series of both Sidon and</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

D E M A N H U R	153
<p>Ake were continued uninterruptedly for many years after this date. The fact that their issues are frequently met with in Egyptian finds speaks volumes for a constant and close commercial relationship between Egypt and Phoenicia at this very time. Therefore the sudden stoppage in the Demanhur Hoard of the Sidonian coinage at the year O, and of the Ake coinage at the corresponding year 29 — while the preceding coinages without a single exception are well represented in the find — is highly significant.</p> <p>That the burial of our hoard took place in 318 B. C., or at most soon after the commencement of 317 B. C., is fully corroborated by other though somewhat less definite clues which the contents of our hoard offers. For instance, the coins issued in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus (323–317 B. C.) are well though not completely represented. To be noted is the fact that it is always the latest of his issues, or his coinages in distant mints, that invariably are missing. Thus for Sidon we lack any specimens dated Π</p>	
A N D M O N O G R A P H S	

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	<p>(Oct. 1, 318–Sept 30, 317 B. C.). We also miss the common varieties listed by Müller under Nos. 1, 20, 54–56, 84–85, 92, 100, 108, 111, 113–115, 117, 120, 125, 129, etc. Clear-cut cases are those of the Persian mint (Ecbatana?) and Babylon. The former first commenced to coin towards the end of the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus, but none of its very common issues are to be found in the Demanhur find. The Philip issues of the Babylon mint, in the order of their appearance, are represented by Müller's Nos. 99, 104, 103, 24, 26, 29, and 117. Of these the first five are well represented in our hoard, though in ever diminishing numbers. No. 29 is represented by but one specimen in mint state, while the exceedingly common variety No. 117 is conspicuous by its complete absence. The final Philip issues of other near-by mints, such as Aradus and Salamis, are also noticeably absent. Thus it can be seen that we would not be far wrong in adopting the year 318 B. C. as the probable burial date of the Demanhur Hoard.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

REASONS FOR THE BURIAL.

The entire lack of any reliable information concerning the find spot of our hoard, or its mode of burial, leaves the field wide open for numberless conjectures respecting its former owner and his immediate reasons for burying so great a treasure. To allow our fancy to stray among so many fascinating possibilities would serve no useful end. Arguments could be adduced with equal plausibility to prove our hoard a government treasure, a military war chest, the accumulation of a wealthy merchant, or even robbers' loot hidden away in a moment of danger.

The facts are that the hoard was interred just at the moment when the land of Egypt, so far as we know, was enjoying profound peace. The great convention of the Satraps at Triparadeisus in 321 B. C. had confirmed Ptolemy in his possession of Egypt. The following year he had, in a somewhat high-handed fashion, seized upon Cyprus and Phoenicia. The other Satraps were at that time far too absorbed in their own troubles to do more

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	<p>than protest. The ensuing years were spent by Ptolemy in quietly organizing his kingdom and strengthening his power for the conflict he knew lay ahead. To be sure, in the year 318 B. C. — that is, the very year which apparently witnessed the interment of our hoard — a considerable flurry was occasioned in the eastern Mediterranean by the sudden descent of Eumenes upon Phoenicia. Here he seized certain large maritime cities, and upon their docks and wharves commenced to construct a fleet with the intention of securing command of the sea. Although Ptolemy was thus temporarily forced out of Phoenicia, we have no reason to suppose that his possession of Palestine was threatened or that Eumenes contemplated any immediate descent upon Egypt. Certain it is that Eumenes' power in Phoenicia collapsed as quickly as it had arisen and that before the summer's end he had retreated eastwards into Persia.</p> <p>We may be hardly justified, therefore, in associating the Demanhur burial with</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DEMANHUR	157
<p>so distant and ephemeral a danger. The times, however, were obviously uncertain and dark clouds loomed on the political horizon. The original possessor of our hoard may have decided against taking any chance with so large a treasure, and hence proceeded to bury it before it might be too late. On the other hand, we have absolutely no historical or archaeological data to suggest any local disturbance occurring at this time. The fact remains that the great Hoard of Demanhur still guards its secret as absolutely as did its ancient owner after he consigned his treasure to the ground two thousand two hundred and forty years ago.</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	

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	<p style="text-align: center;">NOTES</p> <p>¹ Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great.</p> <p>² Within the last three years M. Dattari has informed me of a find of 3000 Alexander tetradrachms, and not long afterwards of a hoard of 46,000 Roman coins. These seem to be but average occurrences.</p> <p>³ Tarsos under Alexander, <i>Amer. Jour. Num.</i>, vol. LII, and Myriandros-Alexandria kat'Isson, in vol. LIII of that publication.</p> <p>⁴ <i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>, No. 3. The Kyparissia Hoard.</p> <p>⁵ <i>Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand</i>, p. 5. ff.</p> <p>⁶ <i>l. c.</i> Note 1.</p> <p>⁷ <i>l. c.</i>, pp. 24-27.</p> <p>⁸ Ludwig Müller, <i>Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand</i>, pp. 304 ff.; Dr. Jules Rouvier in the <i>Revue Numismatique</i>, 1909, pp. 321 ff.; G. F. Hill, Notes on the Alexandrine Coinage of Phoenicia, in <i>Nomisma</i>, IV, 1909, p. 12.</p> <p>⁹ The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, pp. 55 to 59.</p> <p>¹⁰ The correct interpretation of these dates is absolutely verified by three finds at our disposal. <i>l. c.</i>, pp. 57 and 58.</p> <p>¹¹ <i>l. c.</i> Note 4.</p> <p>¹² Amongst others, Müller Nos. 68, 69, 70, 115, 116, 191, 192, 193. Note also that we possess two tetradrachms of Philip II having the peculiarity of the Zeus head facing to the left. In</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

style they are identical with our tetradrachms Nos. 1599 to 1603, and bear the same symbols: BEE or Θ. Compare Plate II, 1 and 2 with Imhoof-Blumer *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 117, No. 17 and Catalogue of the Th. Thomas Sale, No. 1017.

¹² and ¹⁴ Now in the writer's coll.

¹⁵ Now in the Athens coll.

¹⁶ Müller, Nos. 866-874.

¹⁷ Babelon, *Traité* II², Pl. CLXXVIII, also probably Pl. CLXXII, 7.

¹⁸ Von Fritze in *Nomisma*, IX, pp. 49 ff.

¹⁹ Babelon, *Traité* II², pp. 56-60, 69-73.

²⁰ Müller, Pl. XXVI, No. 308, and British Museum Cat., *Caria*, Introd., p. cviii.

²¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Arabia, etc.*, Introd., p. cxxxv, and Mr. Milne in *Num. Chron.*, 1916, pp. 1 ff.

²² I, 146.

²³ II, ii, 867.

²⁴ Hausoullier, *Études sur l'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, p. 8.

²⁵ Arrian, I, 23, 6.

²⁶ Tarsos under Alexander, *Amer. Jour. Num.*, vol. LII.

²⁷ For a possible Alexander coinage at Nagidus, see the discussion of Nos. 3976-8.

²⁸ Arrian, I, 27, 3-4.

²⁹ Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II, 1, p. 26.

³⁰ "A Cilician Find," *Num. Chron.*, 1914.

³¹ For instance, a hoard of the later tetra-

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	<p>drachms was unearthed in Egypt in 1896 and has been described by Dutilh, in the <i>Journal internationale d'archéologie et numismatique</i>, I, 1898, pp. 148-156. Single specimens have also reached the writer from Egypt.</p> <p>⁸² See "Tarsos under Alexander," <i>l. c.</i>, <i>passim</i>.</p> <p>⁸³ See Brit. Mus. Cat., <i>Cyprus</i>, No. 85, Pl. XII, 19.</p> <p>⁸⁴ See <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 4th Ser., vol. XIX, pp. 64, 65.</p> <p>⁸⁵ But see E. S. G. Robinson's "Aspeisas, Satrap of Susiana" in <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 5th Ser., vol. I, pp. 37, 38.</p> <p>⁸⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., <i>Cyprus</i>, Nos. 1-23.</p> <p>⁸⁷ J. P. Six in <i>Num. Chron.</i> N. S., Vol. xviii, pp. 103-131.</p> <p>⁸⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat., <i>Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria</i>, Plate XVII, No. 7.</p> <p>⁸⁹ Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> ii, 13, 7ff.</p> <p>⁴⁰ <i>Rev. Num.</i>, 3d Ser., vol. IX, 1891, Pl. XII, 2.</p> <p>⁴¹ <i>Script. linguaeque phoen. monum.</i>, p. 270, tab. xxxv, 1.</p> <p>⁴² <i>Musei Hedervarii numos antiquos graecos et latinos descripsit.</i> Vienna, 1814.</p> <p>⁴³ Sestini, <i>Descrizione d'alcune medaglie Greche del Museo Hedervariano.</i> Florence, 1822-1829.</p> <p>⁴⁴ As has been claimed by M. J. N. Svoronos, <i>Tà Nomίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων</i>, and followed by Mr. Hill in his "Notes on the Alexandrine Coinage of Phoenicia," <i>Nomisma</i>, IV, 1909.</p>
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⁴⁵ Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, *Amer. Jour. of Num.*, vol. XLVI, 1912, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁶ Arrian, II, 20. i.

⁴⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat. *Phoenicia*, No. 10, Plate XII, 3.

⁴⁸ E. T. Newell, The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake. New Haven, The Yale Press, 1916.

⁴⁹ Notes on the Alexandrine Coinage of Phoenicia, *Nomisma*, IV, 1909, p. 9, note 1.

⁵⁰ The Alexander Issues of Sinope, *Amer. Jour. of Num.*, vol. LII.

⁵¹ As the writer himself believed, p. 32. The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake.

⁵² As both the Phoenician ς and the Greek K, when used for alphabetical numerals, represent 10, all the issues bearing these dates have been assigned to the single year from October 1, 324 to September 30, 323 B. C.

⁵³ The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake. New Haven, Yale Press, 1916.

⁵⁴ *L. c.* p. 53.

⁵⁵ *Amer. Jour. of Num.*, Vols. XLV, XLVI, 1911-12, *passim*.

⁵⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XVI, 1916, pp. 407-9.

⁵⁷ Die Münzstätte Babylon, *Num. Zeitschr.*, vol. XXVII, 1895. He later successfully defended this assignment against Sir Henry Howarth's rather old-fashioned objections (*Num. Chron.*,

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	<p>4th Ser., vol. IV, with Imhoof-Blumer's rejoinder in vol. VI).</p> <p>⁵⁸ Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων. Nos. 3, 6, 12, 94. In reality No. 94 he assigned to Corinth under Ptolemaic suzerainty and this coin will have to be returned to Egypt, as Corinth was not held by the Egyptians until long after the burial of the Demanhur hoard.</p> <p>⁵⁹ Two hoards described by Dutilh, <i>Annuaire de Numismatique</i>, 1895, vol. XVII; the find made near Kuft (largely represented in the collection of the late Dr. Strachan Davidson and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) ; and three smaller hoards from Egypt now in the writer's possession.</p> <p>⁶⁰ Aside from the comparatively small number of extant specimens only a few dies were apparently used in their production. The issues cannot, therefore, have been large.</p> <p>⁶¹ Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 3.</p> <p>⁶² In the cases of Tarsus, Myriandrus, Sidon, and Ake there are included in these totals such obverse and reverse dies as have been brought to the writer's attention since the publication of his various monographs on these particular mints.</p> <p>⁶³ The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

DEMANHUR

PLATE I



I



2



3



DEMANHUR

PLATE II



I



I



3



2



2



4



4

DEMANHUR

PLATE III



I



I



2



3



3



4



4

DEMANHUR

PLATE IV



I



I



3



2



2



4



4

DEMANHUR

PLATE V



I



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4



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3



DEMANHUR

PLATE VI



I



I



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4



4



3



3

DEMANHUR

PLATE VII



I



2



3

DEMANHUR

PLATE VIII



I



2



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5



DEMANHUR

PLATE VI



I



I



2



4



4



3



3

DEMANHUR

PLATE VII



I



2



3



DEMANHUR

PLATE VIII



I



2



3



6



4



5



CJ
35
.N9

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 20



ITALIAN ORDERS OF CHIVALRY AND MEDALS OF HONOUR

By HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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NUMISMATIC

NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

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ITALY (SAVOY)
Order of the Most Sacred Annunciation Plaque

ITALIAN ORDERS OF
CHIVALRY
AND
MEDALS OF HONOUR

BY
HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM



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ITALIAN ORDERS OF CHIVALRY AND MEDALS OF HONOUR

BY HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

Students have always found the coinage of Italy of more than passing interest, and the country of the early Romans is still a far from exhausted field of numismatic research. Few sections of Europe have had such a varied history. Few have been more fought over. Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Franks, Germans, Normans, Spaniards, Austrians and the Papal Authorities have had a hand in the mismanagement of the country's affairs, and all have left traces of their influence, but nowhere more definitely than in the field of numismatics. The changing coinage has always been interesting, and the publication of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, undertaken by His

NUMISMATIC NOTES

2	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>Majesty, Victor Emmanuel III, is a magnificent demonstration of the value of numismatic research.</p> <p>In the time of Augustus, "Italia" was divided into eleven sections. In the feudal period many of these had been governed for centuries by members of the same family. It was a normal condition for these clans to wage war one upon the other, and this state of affairs existed almost uninterruptedly until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. "The destinies of Italy were decided in the cabinets and on the battle-fields of Northern Europe—a Bourbon at Versailles, a Hapsburg at Vienna or a thick-lipped Lorrainer, with the stroke of his pen, wrote off province against province, regarding not the population who had bled for him or thrown themselves upon his mercy." Through it all, the Papacy has exerted a powerful influence. In the early period such a shifting of control was not to the best interests of the inhabitants.</p> <p>The Kingdom of Italy, as we know it today, did not exist, of course, until 1870. With the fall of the French Empire under Napoleon III, the assistance of France was</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

3

no longer available, and Rome came under the dominion of Victor Emmanuel. All of that great mountainous peninsula was united and free. For over seventy years the country has been governed by a Prince of the House of Savoy. Its population has prospered more during that period than for many preceding centuries.

These changing conditions were not without effect upon the organisations which we class as Orders of Knighthood. Many of the Orders of Chivalry founded by the Ducal or Princely rulers of Italy were named for their patron saints. It has seemed expedient in this article to treat of the Orders and Decorations of all of these changing principalities separately. Insofar as is possible, any repetition which this course involves has been avoided.

AND MONOGRAPHS

4	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p data-bbox="857 426 1003 468" style="text-align: center;">LUCCA.</p> <p data-bbox="565 510 1295 1602">Lucca, the most northern province of Tuscany, lies between the Apennines and the Mediterranean Sea. Its principal city, Lucca, on the River Sarchio, is famous for a remarkable bridge which is said to have been built about 1000 A.D. From the time of the Narses, in the Sixth Century, Lucca was an important city. Here and at Pisa, the earliest Italian school of painting flourished in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Lucca became an autonomous commune from the death of Matilda (1115). In 1314 Uguccione della Faggiola seized the reins of Government, but later he was superseded by the powerful Castruccio Castracani. Louis of Bavaria, after having occupied it by his troops, sold it to a Genoese banker, Gherardo Spinola; it was seized by John, King of Bohemia, pawned by him to the Rossi of Parma, sold to Florence, relinquished to Pisa, nominally liberated by Charles IV (Emperor of Germany, 1346-1678) and governed by his vicar. Lucca,</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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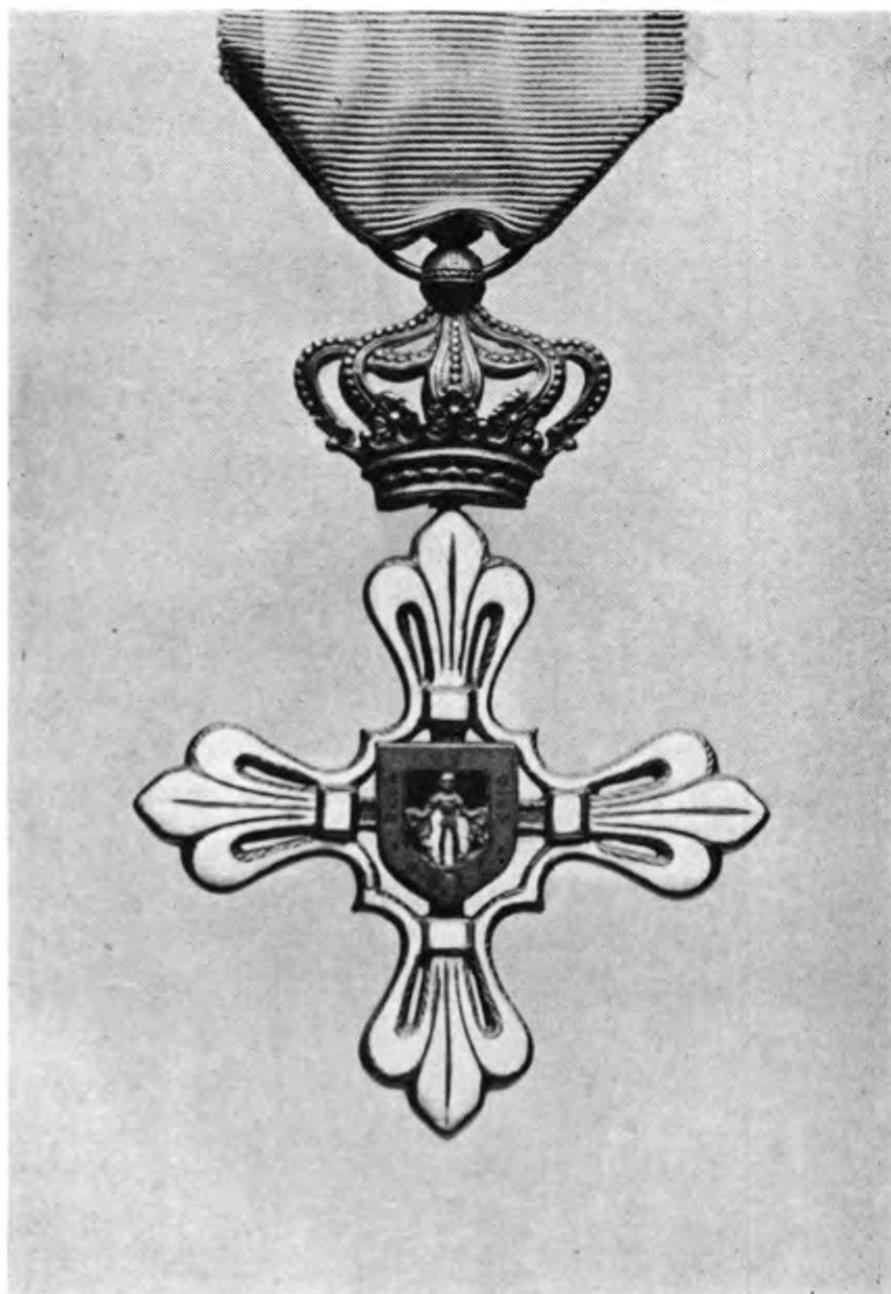
subjected to endless vicissitudes, managed first as a democracy and after 1628 as an oligarchy, to maintain its independence, alongside of Venice and Genoa, and painted the word "Libertas" on its banner until the French Revolution. In 1805, Napoleon I gave Lucca to his sister Eliza, who had married Bacciochi. It was occupied by the Neapolitans in 1814, and from 1816 to 1847 it was the Duchy of Maria Louisa of Parma (who married her cousin, Charles IV of Spain), and was ruled by her son, Charles Louis. It later formed one of the provinces of Tuscany. Under the rule of the Lombard Dukes, Lucca possessed a coinage of its own.

MILITARY ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE OF LUCCA. Duke Charles Louis Ferdinand, a Spanish Bourbon, founded this Order on June 1, 1833. It was called *Ordine di San Giorgio per il Merito Militare*, and was awarded for military services to the Duchy. It was also issued to officers and privates whose service exceeded three years.

The Decoration is a Maltese cross, enamelled white. It is edged with gold for the

AND MONOGRAPHS

6	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>first class, with silver for the second, while for the third class it is silver without the enamel. In the centre is a white medallion, upon which there is a gold figure of St. George slaying the dragon, surrounded by the words <i>AL MERITO MILITARE</i> on a green band. The reverse shows the initials of the founder, <i>C.L.</i>, crowned, and the date 1833. The ribbon is bright red with a white stripe.</p> <p>ORDER OF SAINT LOUIS. Founded on December 22, 1836, by Duke Charles Louis, and awarded for civil merit. It was reorganized in 1849 by his son, Charles III, Duke of Parma, a Bourbon, for Civil and Military service; it is, therefore, classed with the Orders of Parma also. See page 19.</p> <p>The badge of the first class is a white-enamelled cross, with heavy gold lines and with a large fleur-de-lis at the tip of each cross-arm. The obverse bears a shield upon which is an effigy of Saint Louis in golden armour; the reverse has a shield bearing the Bourbon crest of three lilies. The second class cross is of silver and white enamel,</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



PARMA
Order of Saint Louis

while the third is all silver but without the crown. The ribbon is blue with a yellow stripe on either side.

MEDAL FOR MILITARY SERVICE. Created on June 1, 1833, for officers who had served over thirty years, and called the *Medaglia di Anzianita*. The obverse bears a gilt Maltese cross with the initials *C.L.* and a crown above; on the reverse are the Roman figures *XXX*, denoting the years of service. The ribbon is blue, with yellow stripes—four of the former and three of the latter.

CIVIL MEDAL OF MERIT. This Decoration was also instituted by Duke Charles Louis. It is of silver and bronze. The initials of the founder, *C.L.* intertwined, appear on the obverse, and the reverse has inscribed thereon the words, *AI BENEMERITI DELLA SALUTE PUBBLICA*.

MEDALS OF HONOUR

9

MODENA.

In 183 B.C. Mutina, as Modena was then called, was a Roman colony. For more than twelve centuries there were constantly changing rulers. In 1288 A.D. Obizzo II (1240-1293), of the princely house of Este, received the lordship of Modena. The Este family was one of the oldest of Northern Italy, dating back to about 917 A.D. Through the marriage of an heiress of the house of Welf, of Bavaria, with a younger son of the house of Este, this family became connected with the houses of Brunswick and Hanover, from which are descended the Sovereigns of England, through the house of Guelph. At various periods, the Estensi received the sovereignties of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio. The male branch of the family lost the duchies of Modena and Reggio on the death of Hercules Rinaldo, who died in 1803. His only daughter, Maria, married Ferdinand of Austria, son of Francis I and Maria Theresa. Their son, Francis IV, in 1816 became the first Hapsburg duke of

AND MONOGRAPHS

10	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>Modena. He died in 1846, and when his son Francis V died in 1875, the male line of the Austrian Estensi became extinct and the title passed to Francis, son of Archduke Charles Louis. Members of the Este family and their descendants had held the Duchy of Modena almost continuously from 1288 until 1860. In that year the territory by a plebescite was declared part of the Kingdom of Italy.</p> <p>ORDER OF THE EAGLE OF ESTE. Founded by Francis V on December 27, 1855, and awarded for military and civil merit. The number of the members of the Order was limited to 20 for the Grand Cross, 40 for the Commander Class and 120 for the Class of the Knights. The decoration was surrendered on the death of the Knight. The insignia is a gold Maltese cross with gold knobs at the points, white-enamelled and edged with blue. Between the arms of the cross are gold scrolls, and the letters <i>E.S.T.E.</i> are distributed in the angles. On the blue medallion is the white-crowned eagle of the house of Este, surrounded by a</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



MODENA
Order of the Eagle of Este

12	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>white-enamelled band, inscribed <i>PROXIMA SOLI MDCCCLV</i>. The reverse centre of white enamel bears the figure of Saint Contardo holding a cross. It is surrounded by a blue-enamelled band bearing three stars and inscribed <i>S. CONTARDUS ATESTINUS</i>. The ribbon is white, edged with blue stripes. When awarded for military merit, the cross is surmounted by a trophy of arms; for civil merit, by an oak wreath.</p> <p>MILITARY MEDAL FOR LOYALTY. Francis IV, the first Hapsburg duke of Modena (1816-1846), caused a medal to be struck and awarded to those of his troops who remained faithful during the riot of February 4, 1831. This disturbance was organized by Ciro Menotti, and forced Francis IV to flee from his capital. It was thought by some that the Duke was in league with Menotti, but as the Duke caused Menotti to be put to death when the Revolution was suppressed, this is doubtful. The silver medal given to his supporting troops bears the inscription <i>FIDELI MILITI MDCCCXXXI</i>. Within a wreath of laurel,</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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and below are two crossed swords. The reverse is inscribed *FRANCISCUS IV DUX MUTINAE*. The ribbon has three stripes, equal in width; the middle one white, the side ones blue.

CROSS FOR SERVICE. Authorized by Francis V, May 16, 1852. This medal was awarded to officers who had served 25 years under the banner of the house of Este. It is a silver cross with a gilt edge. In the centre is the white eagle of Este, surmounted by a crown and the letters *F.V.* The reverse bears the Roman figures *XXV*. The cross is surmounted by the ducal crown, and the ribbon is white, edged with blue.

MILITARY MEDAL OF MERIT. This decoration was created in 1852 for the junior officers and privates. It is silver. On the obverse appears a bust of the duke facing left, and the legend *FRANCESCO V DUCA DI MODENA EC. EC. ARCIDUCA D'AUSTRIA ESTE EC. EC.* On the reverse, within a laurel wreath, *PEL MERITO MILITARE*. The ribbon is blue, edged with white.

AND MONOGRAPHS

14	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>MEDAL OF FIDELITY. Francis V appears to have been in a struggle with his subjects during most of the thirteen years of his reign. He was compelled to seek refuge in Austria in 1849, but he returned to Modena after the battle of Novara on March 24th of the same year. Ten years later he was again forced to flee. In 1860 Modena became part of United Italy. To reward those of his subjects who had remained faithful to him during his exile, he created the Medal of Fidelity in 1863. It is bronze, 32mm. in diameter. On the obverse it bears the effigy of the duke and the inscription <i>FRANCESCO V AUST. ATESTENUS DUX MUTINAE</i>; on the reverse, the words <i>FIDELITATI ET CONSTANTIAE IN ADVERSIS MDCCCLXIII</i>, surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. The ribbon is of blue and white horizontal stripes, edged with blue and white.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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PARMA.

Parma was the Eastern section of Gallia Cispadane at the time of Constantine. It lies in the Lombard plain, north of the Apennines, south of the River Po and west of Modena. For the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era, the many rulers of Parma were of various nationalities. The duchy came into the possession of the Farnese family during the early part of the Sixteenth Century. Eight dukes of that family ruled over the destinies of its people. From Antonio, who died childless in 1731, the duchy passed to Charles of Bourbon (Don Carlos), Infante of Spain, who became King of Naples in 1735. Both Austria and Spain governed it at various times. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the duchy was granted to Marie-Louise (daughter of Francis I of Austria), second wife of Napoleon I. She died in 1847. Spanish and Austrian rulers again came into possession. Charles III, a Bourbon and the grandson of Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia, reigned from 1849

AND MONOGRAPHS

16	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>until his assassination in 1854. In 1860, during the regency of his son Robert, Parma was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy.</p> <p>ORDER OF CONSTANTINE. Authorities differ with regard to the date of the institution of this Order. It has been said that it was founded by Constantine the Great about the year 313 A.D. Others give credit to the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II (Isaac Angelus Comnenus), and fix the year as 1190. This seems the more probable date. The Order is also called the Order of Saint Angelus, the Order of the Golden Chevaliers, and the Military Order of Constantine of Saint George, it being under the patronage of that Saint and Martyr. Late in the Seventeenth Century its control appears to have been sold to Francis I (Francis of Farnese), Duke of Parma, who became the Grand Master. The Order came into high repute because of the rules he observed in its distribution, and also because of the large domains he conferred upon it, including the church of the Madonna della Steccata at Parma. Clark attributes its revival to Charles V.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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In 1734 or 1735, after the extinction of the male line of the Farnese family, the heir to the Duchy of Parma, Infante Don Carlos (son of Philip V of Spain and Elizabeth Farnese), became the Grand Master. He transferred the Order to Naples when he ascended that throne. It was abolished in Naples by Joseph Bonaparte in 1806 but continued in Sicily. Revived in 1814, it remained in existence until the unification of Italy. Owing to its transfer to Sicily, it is frequently classed among the Orders of the Two Sicilies. The members of the Order consist of Senators, Commanders, Knights, Serving-brothers and Squires.

On August 8, 1922, the Count d'Caserta of the Austrian line of Bourbons, and a distant cousin of the King of Italy through the female line, honoured one Michael Cangiano, the official Interpreter of the Superior Court of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Signor Cangiano was made a Knight of the Order of Constantine of Saint George of Parma and of Sicily. This indicates that the Order has been continued as a Family Order by the old rulers of those Duchies.

AND MONOGRAPHS



PARMA
Order of Constantine

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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The insignia is a red-enamelled gold cross, fleury. On the arms are the letters *I.H.S.V.* (*In hoc signo vinces*). In the centre is the Labarum, or Standard. Greek letters *X* and *P* crossed, and *A* (Alpha) and Ω (Omega). Harold Bayley, in his book entitled *Lost Language of Symbolism*, London, 1913, writes,—“The Latin *P* has the same form as the Greek letter named *Rho*. One of the most famous emblems of early Christianity—known as the *Labarum*, the seal of Constantine, or the *Chi-Rho* monogram—is the letter *X* surmounted by a *P*. The two letters *Chi* and *Rho* are assumed to read *Chr*, a contraction for the name *Christ*, but the symbol was in use long ages prior to Christianity.” The first class members of the Order wear a gold figure of Saint George slaying the dragon, suspended from the cross. The ribbon is light blue moiré.

ORDER OF SAINT LOUIS. Charles III, Duke of Parma, revived this order at Parma, August 11, 1849, as an award of merit. His father Charles Louis (or Charles II) had originated the order in Lucca in 1836. There

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20	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>are five classes and the insignia is a cross, composed of four fleurs-de-lis, bound together by their leaves. On the centre of the obverse in a blue-enamelled shield are three gold lilies. On the reverse is a figure of St. Louis, surrounded by the motto <i>DEUS ET DIES</i> (God and light). The Grand Cross and that for Commanders and Cavaliers of the first class have a gold figure of St. Louis surmounted by a gold crown. The cross for the second class Cavaliers has a silver figure with a silver crown, and the fifth class is of enamelled silver without a crown. The ribbon is light blue and yellow.</p> <p>MEDAL OF MERIT. Founded during the reign of Marie Louise, 1815-1847. Marie Louise was the mother of the Little King of Rome who, fortunately for Italy, never reigned. The medal is silver, 20 mm., and bears on the obverse, <i>AI BENEMERENTI DEL PRINCIPE E DELLO STATO</i>. On the reverse is the head of Marie Louise and the inscription, <i>M. LOUIS ARCID. D. D. AUSTRIA DUCA DI PARMA PIAZ. E. GUAST.</i> The ribbon is light blue and light red.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

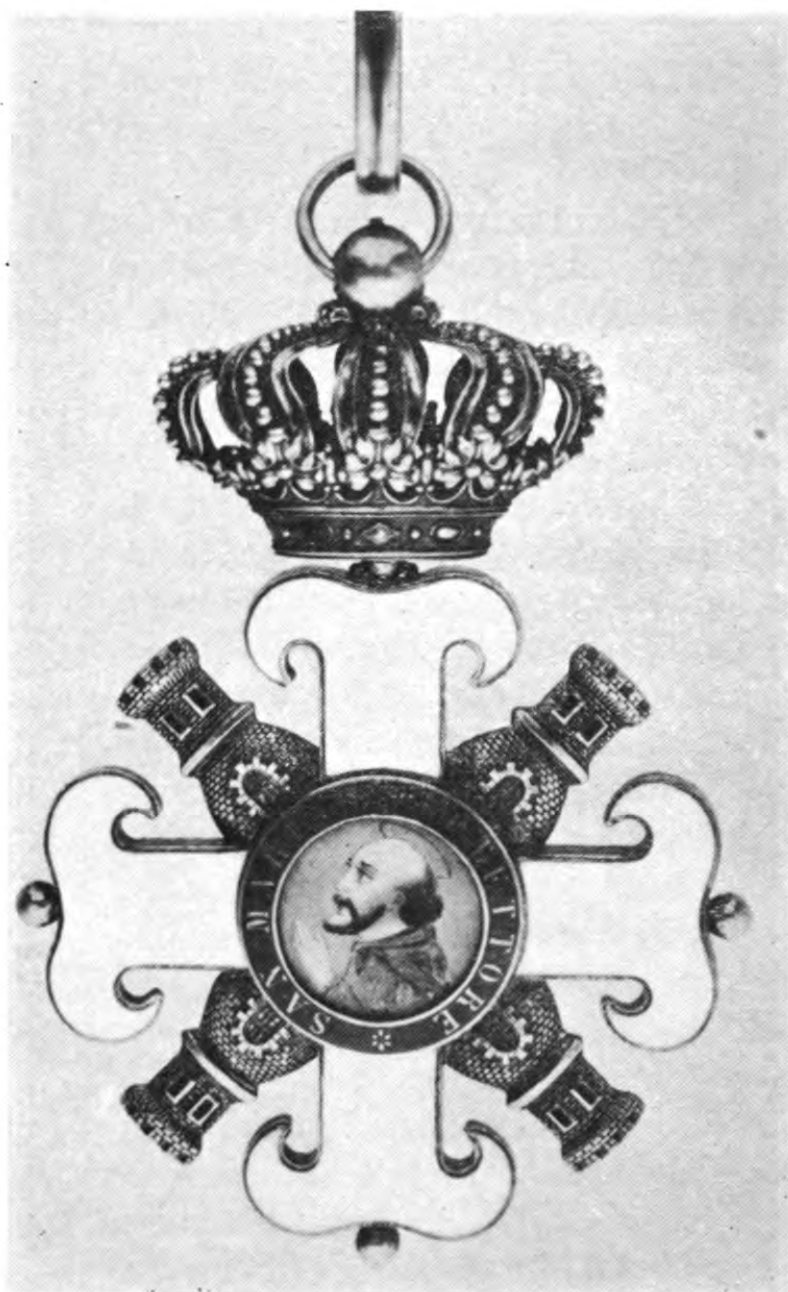
21

SAN MARINO.

When Marinus, the Dalmatian monk, and his companions settled in the Eastern Apennines, in the third century, they little thought they were establishing a community with such a future. For a long time San Marino was something like a buffer state, between hostile Italian dynasties in that vicinity. In 1631, the Independence of San Marino was acknowledged by the States of the Church. Napoleon I preserved its separate existence in 1797, and Napoleon III protected it from the designs of Pope Pius IX in 1854. At the unification of Italy, 1859-1860, San Marino was still allowed its independence, and today it is the *smallest* Republic in Europe.

ORDER OF CHIVALRY OF SAN MARINO. Sometimes called the Equestrian Order of San Marino, created on August 13, 1859, by the Council of the Republic, in commemoration of the fifteenth century of its foundation. The purpose of its founda-

AND MONOGRAPHS



SAN MARINO
Order of Chivalry of San Marino

MEDALS OF HONOUR

23

tion was to reward those who were prominent in the welfare of the country and its people. There are five grades: Grand Crosses, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers. The badge or cross, which is surmounted by a gold crown, is a gold-edged, white-enamelled cross moline with a gold ball at the end of each arm. Between the arms are four gold towers. The obverse centre bears the effigy of Saint Marino to left, surrounded by a blue band, inscribed *SAN MARINO PROTETTORE*. The reverse bears on a gold shield, in the centre, the arms of the country—the three towers. The shield is surrounded by a blue band bearing the words *MERITO CIVILE E MILITARE*. The ribbon is of seven equal stripes, four of blue and three of white.

The writer has four specimens of this cross. Two have full-faced busts of San Marino, with white hair and beard. One has a younger face to the left, with black beard and hair, while the fourth has a bust in gold, facing to the left, but on a white-enamelled field. Two of the specimens bear on the reverse *MERITO CIVILE*. Elvin and

AND MONOGRAPHS

24	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>Lawrence-Archer give the inscription as "Merito Militare," while the <i>Catalogue Musée de l'Armée</i> has it "Merito Civile." Cappelletti and Puca, the Italian authorities, give the former wording, and the figure of San Marino facing to the left; and this, no doubt, is correct.</p> <p>MEDAL OF MERIT. Instituted on March 22, 1860. This is octagonal in form and of gold, silver and bronze, according to the importance of its award. In the centre of the obverse is the Arms of the Republic, the three towers, within an oak and laurel wreath, below which is the word <i>LIBERTAS</i>; around this is, <i>REPUBBLICA DI SAN MARINO</i>. On the reverse, within an oak wreath, is the word <i>ANZIANITA</i> if the purpose of the reward is military, or <i>MERITO</i>, if for civil award. The ribbon is light blue, edged with red.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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SARDINIA, SAVOY AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

Sardinia, one of the islands of the Kingdom of Italy, is known to have been settled by the Carthaginians in 512 B.C. Thenceforward Romans, Vandals, Goths, Saracens, and the Genoese ruled the island. In the year 1325 A.D. the king of Aragon took possession. From that time until 1403 Sardinia was an Aragonese province. After the union of Aragon and Castile, it became Spanish and so remained until 1713, when it was ceded to Austria by the treaty of Utrecht. In 1720 it was given to Victor Amadeus II (1666-1732), Duke of Savoy, in exchange for the island of Sicily, and he became King of Sardinia; the title of King of Savoy was conferred upon him the same year. This title of King of Sardinia and Savoy continued until the unification of Italy in 1859-1860.

MEDAL OF VALOUR. Created in 1793 by Victor Amadeus III (1727-1796), King of Sardinia. It is of gold and silver, 38 mm.

AND MONOGRAPHS

26	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>in diameter, and bears on the obverse a bust of the king facing to right and <i>VITTORIO-AMADEUS III</i>. The reverse has a wreath of oak leaves, within which is a trophy of arms and flags, and the words <i>AL VALORE</i>. The ribbon is dark blue.</p> <p>About 1404 Amadeus VIII, (the first Duke of Savoy), extended his provinces. The territory over which he later reigned extended from the Lake of Geneva to the Mediterranean Sea, and from the River Saone (in France) to the River Sesia in Italy. The Duchy of Savoy also included Nice. This section remained almost continually in the possession of the house of Savoy until 1860.</p> <p>It is said that Napoleon III had a secret treaty with Count Cavour, the Italian statesman, before the French army went to assist the Sardinians to drive the Austrians from Northern Italy. At the Peace table, Savoy, the cradle of the house of that name, as well as Nice, was given to France. Of this settlement, Garibaldi is reported to have said, "That man (Cavour) has made me a foreigner in my own house."</p> <p>Inasmuch as the Kingdom of Italy has</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S

MEDALS OF HONOUR

27

been ruled by princes of the house of Savoy, it seems proper to describe, in the subsequent pages, the decorations generally known as Italian Orders of Chivalry and Medals of Distinction.

ORDER OF THE MOST SACRED ANNUNCIATION. This Order is the highest in rank and most important of all the Italian Decorations. It ranks with the Golden Fleece of Spain and the Garter of England. Authorities differ as to its origin, though many of them give the year 1362 as the date of its foundation. In that year, the Order of the Neck Chain or Order of the Collar of Savoy was founded by Amadeus VI, Count Verde of Savoy (1333-1383). His grandfather, Amadeus V, called the Great, assisted the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem at Rhodes, and compelled the Turks, under Mahomet II, to abandon their siege of that island in 1310 or, as some state, in 1315. For this service Amadeus V was presented with a collar, bearing the letters *F.E.R.T. Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit* (By his bravery Rhodes was held). He

AND MONOGRAPHS

was also granted for his Arms, the use of the white cross of the Crusaders, which later became the Cross of Savoy (H. W. Fincham's "Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England"). Although authorities differ as to the exact meaning of these letters F.E.R.T., the above is the more generally accepted explanation, and is that given by Bernardo Giustinian, the Italian authority, in 1692. In 1518, new statutes were formulated for the Order by Charles III, Count of Savoy. At that time the name was changed to the Order of the Most Sacred Annunciation. Several changes in the Order have been made by various Counts of Savoy since that time, among whom were Victor Emmanuel II in 1869 and Humbert I in 1889. There is but one class of Members—Chevaliers or Knights, whose number, exclusive of the Sovereign and Church Dignitaries and Princes, is limited. They must also be of the Roman Catholic faith. The insignia consists of a gold medallion on which is a representation of the Annunciation, above which is a dove, symbolising the Holy Spirit. This is surrounded by a group of symbolic

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ITALY (SAVOY)

Order of the Most Sacred Annunciation

30	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>knots of ribbon (<i>lacs d'amour</i>), on which are numerous roses, a possible reference to the Mystic Rose. The whole is suspended from a gold chain, composed of alternate knots of ribbon and roses, with the letters <i>F.E.R.T.</i> interwoven. The plaque, or star, is similar to the badge, surrounded by eight rays of flame, with the letters <i>F.E.R.T.</i> on the sides. The ribbon is blue moiré. (Frontispiece.)</p> <p>ORDER OF SAINT MAURICE AND SAINT LAZARUS. The Order of St. Maurice was instituted in 1434, at Ripaille, near the lake of Geneva, by Amadeus VIII (1383-1450), Count and first Duke of Savoy. The Order took its name from the patron saint of Savoy. Amadeus VIII conferred this Order on ten of his courtiers when they accompanied him to his retreat at the priory of Ripaille. He was elected Pope in 1439, taking the name of Felix V, but he resigned in 1448 and retired to the solitude of Ripaille, where he died in 1450. He is buried at Lausanne. Shortly after his death, the Order became dormant. It was revived in</p>
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ITALY (SAVOY)
Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus

32	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>1572 by Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, to encourage the Catholics to resist the Calvinistic reforms attempted in Savoy. The Dukes of Savoy were Grand Masters.</p> <p>The Order of Saint Lazarus was generally supposed to have been founded about the year 1060, during the earlier crusades, although there was a Fraternity of Ecclesiastical Knights who as early as 366 A.D. founded a hospital at Jerusalem to care for the lepers. These were known as the Knights of St. Lazarus. Elias Ashmole, in his "History of the most noble Order of the Garter," London, 1715, writes—"At length, through the incursion of the Barbarians, and Injury of Time, it (the order) lay extinguished, but was revived when the Latin Princes joyned in a Holy League to recover the Holy Land. . . . For in that Time the Monks of this Order added Martial Discipline to their Skill in Physick; and for their Services against the Infidels, begat a great Esteem from Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, and some of his Successors." The Order was inactive for a long period.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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In 1490 it was united with the Hospitallers of St. John at Rhodes, but in 1565 Pope Pius IV restored it and granted additional privileges. In September, 1572, Pope Gregory XIII, at the request of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, restored the Order of Saint Maurice and united it with that of St. Lazarus, under the title of the ORDER OF SAINT MAURICE AND SAINT LAZARUS. Pope Gregory XIII also appointed the Dukes of Savoy Hereditaries and Masters, and as Ashmole writes—"oblig'd them to furnish out two Gallies for the Service of the Papal See, to be employ'd against Pyrates."

There have been many changes in the Order by the various sovereigns, but at present there are five grades: Knights of the Grand Cross, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers. The number of the last grade is unlimited. Many foreigners have been decorated with this grade. The present form of decoration was established by Duke Charles Emmanuel I (1562-1630). The badge consists of a white-enamelled cross, treflée, of St. Maurice, conjoined at the

AND MONOGRAPHS

34	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>angles with the green Maltese cross of St. Lazarus, which is ball-tipped at the points. The badges of the four higher grades are surmounted by a Royal crown, the size of the cross and of the crown indicating the particular grade. It is suspended by a bright green watered ribbon. The eight-rayed star of the Order is silver. In the centre is a reproduction of the badge or cross, without the crown.</p> <p>MEDAL OF SAINT MAURICE. Instituted for Military services by King Charles Albert,¹ King of Sardinia, on July 19, 1839. It was intended as further recognition of those officials who had received the cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and who had served under the flag "<i>per la durati di dieci lustri</i>" (<i>lustri</i> meaning a five year enlistment, and <i>dieci lustri</i>, therefore, fifty years). The Medal is gold, bearing on the obverse the equestrian figure of the patron saint of Savoy, St. Maurice, holding the flag of the Order in his right hand. Around this are the words <i>S. MAURIZIO PRO-</i></p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

35

TETTORE DELLE NOSTRE ARMI. The reverse is inscribed as below,

*AL CAVALIERE
MAURIZIANO*

.....
*PER DIECI LUSTRI
NELLA CARRIERA
MILITARE
BENEMERITO*

space being reserved for the name of the recipient. There are two sizes of the medal. The larger, 55 mm. in diameter, is for Generals or Admirals who had received the higher decoration of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and the smaller, 39 mm., for officers who had received the lower grades of the same Order. The ribbon is green, the same as for the Order.

ROYAL MILITARY ORDER OF SAVOY. Founded at Genoa, on August 14, 1815, by Victor Emmanuel I (1759-1824). Its purpose was to reward acts of valour and magnanimity. The Order was modified on September 28, 1855, by Victor Emmanuel II, later king of Italy, who also changed the

AND MONOGRAPHS

36	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>decoration to the present form. There are five classes: Knights of the Grand Cross, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers. The cross, which is white-enamelled with curvilinear tips, is edged with gold. It rests upon a wreath of laurel leaves. On the red background of the medalion is the white cross of Savoy, around which on a circular band are the words <i>AL MERITO MILITARE</i>. The reverse medalion of red enamel has two crossed swords, points up, above which is the date 1855, and on either side, the initials <i>V. E.</i> The cross of the first three classes is surmounted by a Royal crown, that of the fourth class by a trophy of flags and arms, while the fifth class cross has but the suspension ring. The ribbon is blue moiré, with a red band in the centre.</p> <p>The star, which is of silver, has eight rays; in the centre is a duplication of the obverse of the decoration, without the crown. Prior to 1855, the star or plaque bore the motto <i>AL MERITO ED AL VALORE</i>.</p> <p>CIVIL ORDER OF SAVOY. Founded at Turin, on October 29, 1831, by Charles</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY (SAVOY)
Military Order of Savoy

Albert (1798–1849), King of Sardinia and Savoy. During most of his reign of eighteen years, he was at war with Austria. Following the revolution of 1848 in France, he began war for the Independence of Italy but was compelled to abdicate in 1849 after his defeat by the Austrians at Novara. The object of the Order was to reward 'those of other professions, not less useful than that of the army, who have become through long and profound study the ornaments of the State to which they have rendered important service.'

There is but one class to the Order, known as Knights, and it is seldom conferred on foreigners. The decoration is a light blue Savoy cross edged with gold. The medallion on the obverse is white with a gold rim; in the centre are the initials of the founder, C. A. The reverse has *AL MERITO CIVILE 1831*, in gold lettering on a white field, on the centre medallion. The moiré ribbon is of three equal stripes—light blue with white either side.

ORDER OF THE CROWN OF ITALY.
Created on February 20, 1868, by Victor

NUMISMATIC NOTES

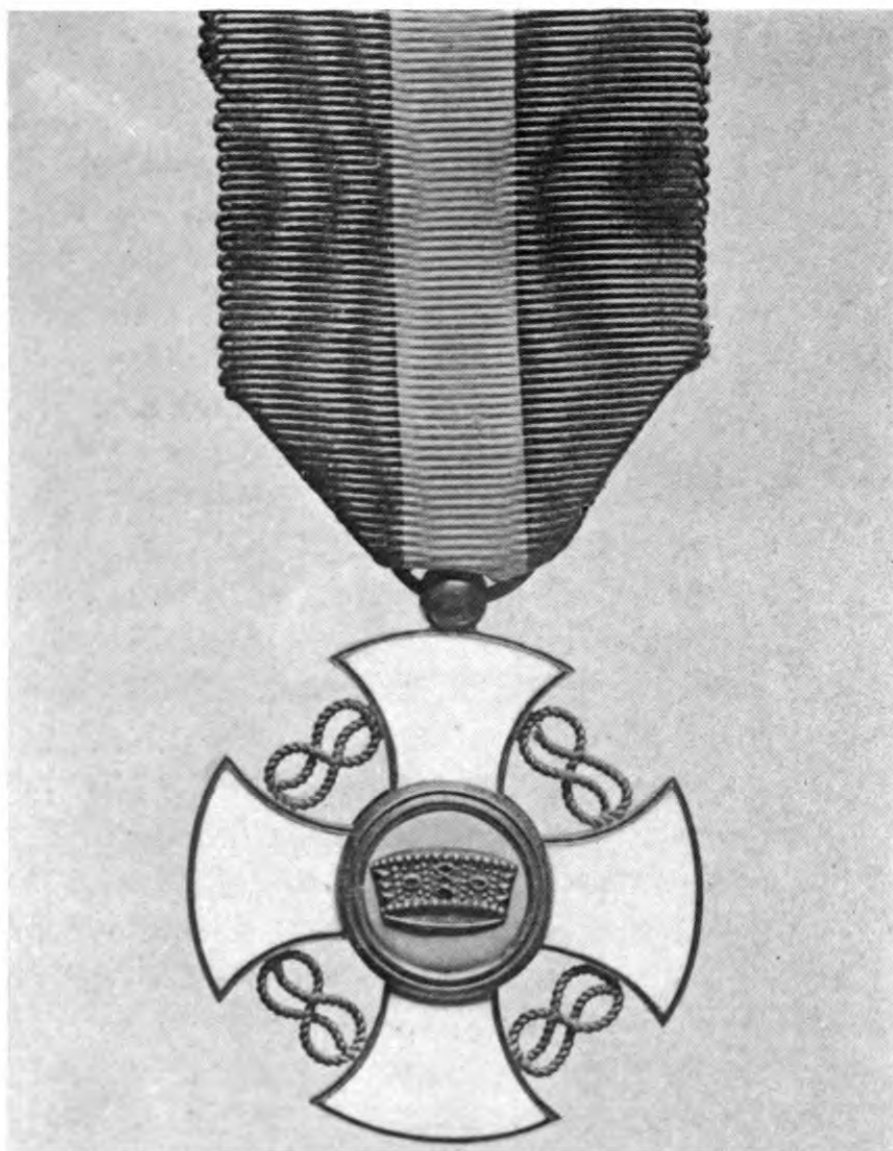


ITALY (SAVOY)
Civil Order of Savoy

Emmanuel II (1820-1878), the first King of United Italy, to commemorate the annexation of Venice to that kingdom. This is sometimes called the Order of the Iron Crown. Doubtless the origin of the name arose from the fact that at the coronation of Agilif, King of the Lombards (592-615), a crown was used, composed of gold and precious stones, inset with a band of iron which was said to have been forged from a nail of the true Cross. Tradition says that this crown was kept in the Cathedral of Monza and removed to Mantua in 1859. When Napoleon I became King of Italy in 1805, it is said he was crowned with this crown. The Order of the Iron Crown of Italy, founded by Napoleon I in 1805, was abolished in 1814, although revived in Austria in 1816 by Francis I as the Austrian Order of the Iron Crown.

The first distribution of the Order of the Crown of Italy, as founded by King Victor Emmanuel II, occurred on April 22, 1868, when the heir-apparent, Humbert, married Princess Marguerite of Savoy. There are five classes of the Order—Grand

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ITALY
Order of the Crown of Italy

42	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>Cordons, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Knights. The grade of Knight or Chevalier is frequently conferred on foreigners. The insignia is a white-enamelled cross-pattée edged with gold, and convex, with knots of gold cord connecting the arms. In the blue-enamelled medallion is a gold crown. On the reverse medallion is the crowned eagle of Savoy. On its breast is a red shield, bearing the white cross of Savoy. The ribbon is of red with a white stripe in the centre. The star of the order, for the highest grade, is of eight silver rays, on the centre of which is a gold crown on blue field, encircled by a white band, inscribed <i>VICTORIUS EMMANUEL II REX ITALIAE MDCCCLXVI</i>. This device is surmounted by a crowned eagle bearing the Arms of Savoy on its breast. The star of the Grand Officer is an eight-pointed silver star, on which is a reproduction of the Cross.</p> <p>ORDER OF INDUSTRY. By a decree of May 9, 1901, Victor Emmanuel III created a Decoration called the "Cavalieri del Lavoro" (Knights of Industry). It is</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

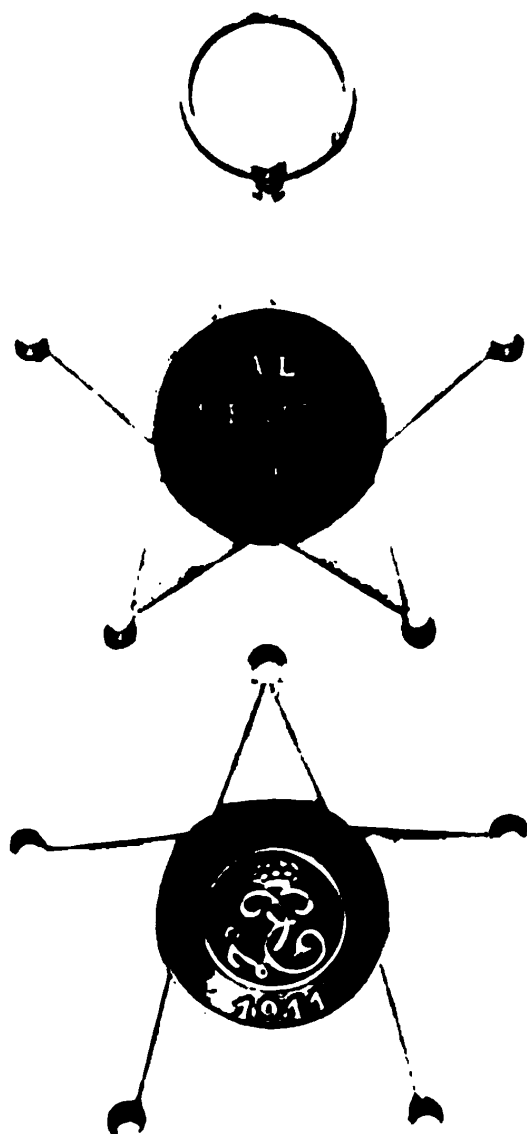
43

awarded to those prominent or proficient in the Industrial, Commercial or Agricultural work of the Kingdom or of its Colonies. The decoration consists of a green-enamelled Savoy cross, edged with gold. On the obverse is a white medallion, bearing the words *AL MERITO/DEL/LAVORO/1901*. The reverse medallion bears the initials of the founder, *V. E.*, in gold on a white field. The ribbon is dark green with a red stripe in the centre. There is but one class to this order, and its award carries with it no particular privileges.

COLONIAL ORDER OF THE STAR OF ITALY. Founded in 1911 by King Victor Emmanuel III. Its purpose was to reward those deserving of especial recognition who were prominent in the work of the Colonies. There are five classes to the Order: Knights of the Grand Cross, Grand Officers, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers. The decoration consists of a white-enamelled star of five points, edged with gold and ball-tipped. On the obverse medallion of red, is the gold monogram (*V. E.*) of the founder, with crown above. A green-enamelled circle

AND MONOGRAPHS

44	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>has at the bottom of it 1911. On the reverse red medallion are the words <i>AL/MERITO/COLONIALE</i> in gold letters. The ribbon is red, with narrow white and green bands on either side. All grades of the star have a crown above, except that of Chevalier, which is plain. The plaque, which is worn by the first and second classes only, consists of thirty-five silver rays, on which is the uncrowned star described above.</p> <p>MILITARY CROSS FOR SERVICE. On November 8, 1900, Victor Emmanuel III authorized a cross for long and faithful service, called the "Croce per anzianità di servizio Militare." It is of gold for Officers, and of silver for the troops. The decoration is a Maltese cross; on the obverse, a medallion bearing the Royal cipher <i>V E</i> crowned, and on the reverse Roman characters, denoting years of service—<i>XXV</i> for the Officers and <i>XVI</i> for the troops. If the officers have served forty years and the troops twenty-five years, the Roman characters vary accordingly, and the cross has a crown above. The ribbon is green, with a wide white stripe in the centre.</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY

Colonial Order of the Star of Italy

46	ITALIAN ORDERS
	<p>MILITARY MEDAL OF VALOUR. As early as 1793, during the war between Piedmont and France, Victor Amadeus III, King of Sardinia (1727-1796), created a Medal of Valour. This was awarded for individual acts of bravery, and was struck in gold and in silver. Victor Emmanuel I revived the award in 1815, at the time of the downfall of Napoleon I, but abolished it in August of that year when he created the Military Order of Savoy. When Charles Albert was King of Sardinia and Savoy, he reinstituted the medal in 1833, for acts of valour not sufficiently important to warrant the Military Order of Savoy. From the time of its inception to 1887, it was always awarded in gold or silver, but in that year Humbert I decreed that a bronze medal should be given for acts of valour of a lesser degree. This medal ranks in Italy almost as highly as does the Victoria Cross in Great Britain or the Medal of Honour in this country. It is frequently called the Sardinian Medal of Valour. The earliest model was 38 mm. in diameter, having on the obverse the bust of the king facing to the</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



ITALY (SAVOY)
Military Medal of Valour

right and the words *VITTORIO AMADEUS III*. The reverse had a wreath of oak leaves, within this is a trophy of arms and flags and the words *AL VALORE*. About the time of the Crimean war, the design was changed. The size was reduced to 33 mm. The obverse has the Arms of Savoy, surmounted by a crown in an oval. Below are a palm and laurel branch, tied at base with a ribbon; and around the whole, the words *AL VALORE MILITARE*. The reverse has two laurel branches tied with a ribbon, with a space in the centre for the recipient's name. The name of his campaign is placed on the outer edge. The ribbon has always been a dark blue moiré. Victor Emmanuel II caused a number of these medals, in both gold and silver, to be given to the British and French troops who took part in the Crimean war. Two of these are in my collection, and have been awarded to Frenchmen. The reverse has the name and title of the recipient engraved at the centre, while around the outer edge of one are the words *SPEDIZIONE D'ORIENTE 1855-1856*, in *relief*. The second specimen has the same words *en-*

graved. The *Musée de l'Armée* of Paris has a medal with the recipient's name engraved and *GUERRE D'ITALIE 1859* in *relief*. This was for the war with Austria. Another has in relief *CAMPAGNA DELLA BASSA ITALIA 1860-1861*. Mr. C. S. Gifford, of Boston, has in his collection a variant of this Medal of Valour. It is but 25 mm. in diameter. The reverse has around the edge, outside the wreath, in *relief*, the words *GUERRA CONTRA L'IMPERO D'AUSTRIA*.

Many of these medals have been awarded to the men of other countries who have assisted Italy in her campaigns. It was a Military Medal of Valour, of gold, which General Diaz placed upon the grave of the unknown American soldier at Arlington on November 11, 1921, by order of the King of Italy.

CIVIL MEDAL OF VALOUR. Authorized by King Victor Emmanuel II on April 3, 1851. It was given in gold, silver and bronze. Under a decree of April 29, 1888, Humbert I authorized a bronze medal also. These are awarded to civilians for per-

50	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>sonal acts of courage and valour, such as rescues at fires and at sea. The medal is 34 mm. in diameter, bearing on the obverse the Arms of Savoy in an escutcheon, with a Royal crown above. Around this at the top are the words <i>AL VALORE CIVILE</i>. The reverse has a wreath of oak leaves, with space in the centre for the recipient's name. The writer's medal is engraved <i>D'ONOFRIO GIO. ANTONIO CERVINARA (AVELLINO) 22 XBRE. 1868</i>. The ribbon for this medal is of the Italian National colours. Three equal stripes—red, white and green.</p> <p>NAVAL MEDAL OF VALOUR. Instituted in March, 1836; modified in 1847, and again by Victor Emmanuel II in 1860, to reward the men of the Navy for heroism. In 1888, Humbert I established three grades, gold, silver and bronze, according to the character of the award. The obverse bears the Arms of Savoy on a shield, with a crown above, and encircled by a palm and laurel branch tied at the bottom; and round the outer edge is the motto <i>AL VALORE DI MARINA</i>. On the reverse is an oak</p>
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MEDALS OF HONOUR

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wreath (less full than that of the Military medal of Valour) with a reserve in the centre for the name of recipient and mention of the act for which the medal is awarded. The ribbon is dark blue moiré, with one wide and one narrow white stripe at each side.

MEDAL OF MERIT FOR PUBLIC SAFETY. This decoration was first instituted on September 13, 1854, by Victor Emmanuel II and was called "*La Medaglia di Benemeranza per i Benemeriti della salute pubblica.*" Its purpose was to reward the services of volunteers in epidemics of contagious diseases and those who took part in other ways beneficial to the health and safety of the public.

It is given in gold, silver and bronze. On the obverse is a bust of the King to left, around which is inscribed *UMBERTO I RE D'ITALIA*. On the reverse are oak and laurel branches, surrounded by the words *SALUTIS PUBLICAE BENEMERENTIBUS*. A reserve at the centre is left for the name of the recipient. On the earlier models the bust and title of Victor Emmanuel

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II appeared on the obverse, and the reverse motto read *AI BENEMERITI DELLA SALUTE PUBBLICA*. The ribbon is light blue, edged with black.

MEDAL FOR VETERANS GUARDING THE TOMB OF THE KINGS. This medal was authorized on July 14, 1879, and altered on January 1, 1880. It was established to honour the veterans of the war of 1848-1849 who guarded the tomb of Victor Emmanuel II. It is 30 mm. in diameter and of silver. The ribbon is blue with a white stripe in the centre, with one edge green and the other red. The first model has on the obverse a wreath of laurel with a superimposed, five-pointed star bearing at the centre the bust of the King and the words *UMBERTO I^o RE D'ITALIA*; on the reverse, *VETERANI 1848-49 / GUARDIA D'ONORE / ALLA TOMBA DEL RE / VITTORIO EMANUELE II*. After the death of Humbert I, Victor Emmanuel III altered the medal. The obverse bore his own bust and title, and the reverse read */AI/VETERANI 1848-1870 / GUARDIA D'ONORE / ALLE TOMBE*

N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY

Veteran Guard of the Tomb of the Kings

54	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p data-bbox="574 359 1295 491"><i>DI RE / VITTORIO EMANUELE II / E UMBERTO I.</i> A specimen of this design is in my collection.</p> <p data-bbox="574 548 1295 1388">LIFE SAVING MEDAL. Authorized by Royal Decree on March 8, 1888. This decoration is awarded to those, not in the Navy, who have risked their lives to save others from drowning, or shipwreck, or for other forms of personal valour at sea. It is issued by the Ministry of the Marine. The medal is in silver and in bronze only and is <i>not</i> to be worn on the person. The obverse bears the effigy of the King, facing left, and the inscription <i>VITTORIO EMANUELE III RE D'ITALIA</i>. The reverse has two circles, one within the other; in the outer circle occur the words <i>MINISTERO DELLA MARINA</i>, while the inner one is left blank for the name of the recipient, the date and the statement regarding the occasion of the award.</p> <p data-bbox="574 1451 1295 1583">MEDAL OF MERIT. Authorized by a Decree of May 6, 1909. This medal was awarded to all persons, including many</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY
Medal of Merit

56	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>foreigners, who from philanthropic or charitable motives went to the relief of the inhabitants of Sicily and Southern Calabria at the time of the earthquake of December 28, 1908. It is 34 mm. in diameter, and was issued in gold, silver and bronze. The obverse bears the effigy of the King, facing left, and the words <i>VITTORIO EMANUELE III</i>. On the reverse, the inscription <i>TERREMOTO / 28 DICEMBRE 1908 / IN CALABRIA / E IN SICILIA</i>, surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. The ribbon is green with a white stripe on either side. A variation of this medal was issued, bearing on the obverse the bust of the king surrounded by the inscription <i>VITTORIO EMANUELE III RE D'ITALIA</i>. The reverse reads <i>MEDAGLIA/COMMEMORATIVA/TERREMOTO/CALABRO SICULO/28 DICEMBRE/1908</i>. The ribbon for this has 5 stripes, alternately white and green.</p> <p>The writer possesses an interesting medal, for the official issuance of which no authority has been found. It is of silver, 33 mm. in diameter. The obverse bears the head of</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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the King of Sardinia and Savoy, facing left, with *A CARLO ALBERTO* at the sides. Under the bust, the letters *S.J.* (probably standing for Stephano Johnson). The reverse reads *I VETERANI/ITALIANI /IN/PELLEGRINAGGIO/ALLA SUA TOMBA/A SUPERGA*. The ribbon is dark blue with a yellow stripe each side. It is believed that these medals were given to the veteran soldiers of Charles Albert who made the pilgrimage to his last resting place. The Abbey of Superga was founded by Victor Amadeus III near Turin. In its church rest the remains of the Princes of Savoy. Charles Albert (1789-1849) died at Oporto in 1849. His body was buried on the heights of Superga. Italy later recognized his devotion, and pilgrims still journey to his tomb.

CRIMEAN MEDAL. Italy was not backward in awarding what are commonly known as Campaign or Service Medals but which the Italian authorities style "*Medaglie Commemorative*." That for the Crimean war was the first. It was authorized on October 22, 1856, and was issued to the Piedmont

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troops serving during that campaign under General La Marmora. The medal is of silver, 35 mm. in diameter. On the obverse appears the effigy of the King, facing left, and the inscription *VITTORIO EMANUELE II*. The reverse has in large letters, in relief, *CRIMEA/1855-1856*. The ribbon is light blue with a narrow gold edge. Some authorities assign a ribbon of the Italian National colours—red, white and green.

MEDAL FOR THE LIBERATION OF SICILY. This medal was issued to commemorate the dethronement of Ferdinand II and the union of the ancient Kingdom of Sicily with the Kingdom of Italy. As a result of that insurrection, Garibaldi with his thousand troops landed at Marsala, and in three weeks was master of Messina. The medal (30 mm.) is of silver and bronze. On the obverse is the bust of the king and the words *VITTORIO EMANUELE*; below the bust, the initials *S.J.*, probably standing for Stephano Johnson, the maker. The reverse is inscribed *ITALIA/E CASA DI SA VOIA / LIBERAZIONE DI / SICILIA*

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MEDALS OF HONOUR

59

1860. The ribbon is red, with one white and one green edge.

STAR OF THE THOUSAND. Here might appropriately be mentioned a unique decoration. On January 9, 1861, General Turr went to the island of Caprera to carry to that great Italian patriot, General Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), the Star of Honour which his famous thousand companions had offered him. It is a gold star of seven points, loosely set with diamonds. In the centre on a blue-enamelled field in letters of gold is *ARTURO* (a star which is said to protect any one with an ideal). On this is superimposed a gold *Trinacria*, the emblem of Sicily. This is surrounded by an enamelled band of white, green and red, inscribed in letters of gold *I MILLE AL LORO DUCE* (The thousand to their chief). This was the only decoration which that great General consented to wear; and after his death at Caprera on June 2, 1882, the star was given by his sons to the Quirinal Museum in Rome where it may now be seen.

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60	ITALIAN ORDERS
	<p>MEDAL OF THE THOUSAND, or MARSALA MEDAL. Issued by the city of Palermo, and authorized by the Italian government in 1865. It was presented to the troops of Garibaldi who entered the City in 1860, and is called LA MEDAGLIA DEI MILLE. The obverse has in the centre an eagle with raised wings, standing on a fillet inscribed <i>S. P. Q. R.</i> Around this are the words <i>AI PRODI CUI FU DUCE GARIBALDI</i> (To the brave men who were led by Garibaldi). On the reverse within a wreath of laurel is <i>IL MUNICIPIO/PALERMITANO / RIVENDICATO / MDCCCLX</i>. Around this, outside the wreath are the words <i>MARSALA CALATAFIMI PALERMO</i>. The medal was issued in silver and in bronze. The ribbon is bright red, with a gold stripe each side, and on the face of the ribbon is fastened a silver <i>Trinacria</i>, the emblem of Sicily.</p> <p>MEDAL OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE. This decoration was authorized in 1862. It is of silver, and 32 mm. in diameter. On the obverse is the head of the king, to left,</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



ITALY
Medal of the Thousand

62	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>around which are the words <i>VITTORIO EMANUELE II RE D'ITALIA</i>. The reverse depicts a standing female figure, symbolizing Italy, holding in her right hand a spear, and in the left, a shield with the Arms of Savoy. Around the whole is inscribed <i>GUERRE PER L'INDIPENDENZA E L'UNITA D'ITALIA</i>. The ribbon is composed of six narrow stripes of the National colours—green, white and red. Bars or barrets are issued in silver to be attached to the ribbon, as follows: 1848–1849 (war with Austria), 1855–1856 (Crimean War), 1859 (war with Austria), 1860–1861 (Garibaldi's expedition in Sicily and the Campaign in central Italy), 1866 (war with Austria), 1867 (Campaign against Rome), and 1870 (Capture of Rome).</p> <p>MEDAL FOR UNITED ITALY. This medal was authorized in 1883. It is 32 mm. in size, and of silver and bronze. On the obverse is the effigy of the King and the words <i>UMBERTO I RE D'ITALIA</i>. On the reverse, within a laurel wreath the inscription <i>UNITA/D'ITALIA/1848–1870</i>.</p>
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ITALY

Medal of Italian Independence



ITALY
Medal for United Italy

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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The ribbon has a broad green stripe with a white and a red stripe on both sides.

Unlike the British campaign medals, few of the Italian medals are inscribed on the edges. The writer has a group of three medals, inscribed *PHILIP FIGYELMESI COMANDANTE USSERI UNGHERESI*. These are for the Campaign of United Italy, Liberation of Sicily, and for Italian Independence.

MEDAL FOR AFRICA. Created on November 3, 1894; sometimes called the "Medal for Abyssinia." It was awarded to the forces of the Army and Navy which took part in the operations in Abyssinia, especially in that portion bordering on the Red Sea, called Eritrea. This included the campaign of 1887-1897 against Menelik II, who was the Negus of Abyssinia. The medal was issued in bronze, 32 mm., and bears on the obverse the crowned head of King Humbert I, facing right. On the reverse, within a laurel wreath, are the words *CAMPAGNE D'AFRICA*. The ribbon is red with blue borders. Silver bars, suitably inscribed,

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were issued to the troops taking part in the following expeditions, viz: Campagna 1887-1888, Saati, Dogali Saganeiti, Keren, Asmara, Adua, Agordat (1890), Halat, Serobeti, Agordat (1893), Kassala, Halai, Coatit, Campagna 1895-1896 and Campagna 1897.

MEDAL FOR THE FAR EAST. Authorized on June 23, 1901, and also known as the "Medal for China," or the "Medal for the Boxer Uprising." At the time of that unfortunate affair, when so many of the Nations went to the relief of their legations at Peking, Italy was among the first. To all those taking part in this expedition, and to those who remained as guardians of the territory until the end of the year 1901, this medal was given. It is of bronze, 32 mm., and bears on the obverse the effigy of the King facing left and the words *VITTORIO EMANUELE III RE D'ITALIA*; on the reverse, within a wreath of laurel, *CINA 1900-1901*. The ribbon is yellow, with four dark blue stripes. Another medal for China is exactly like the above, excepting

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ITALY
Medal for Africa

68	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>that the reverse bears the word <i>CINA</i> only. This was given to the troops and sailors who served in China from December 31, 1901 to April 1, 1908. The ribbon is similar.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR THE TURKISH WAR OF 1911-1912. But a few years ago Italy and Turkey were fighting desperately for the control of Tripoli, a section of Northern Africa which had been under Turkish rule for several centuries. It was at this time that Germany all but precipitated a European war by insisting upon certain methods of settlement. Fortunately conflict was averted by the treaty of Lausanne. To commemorate the triumph over Turkey and to honor those engaged there, a silver medal of 32 mm. was authorized on November 21, 1912. The medal was issued to all men of the Army and Navy who took part in the operations against the Ottoman Empire, whether in Africa or in Turkish territory. On the obverse of the medal is the head of the King, facing right, and the inscription, <i>VITTORIO EMANUELE. III. RE</i></p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY
War Cross

70	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p><i>D'ITALIA.</i> On the reverse, within a wreath of laurel, the words <i>GUERRA/ITALO-TURCA/1911-1912</i>. The ribbon is of six narrow blue and five narrow red stripes of equal width.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR THE WAR IN LIBYA. The treaty of Lausanne did not stop all war operations on the part of Italy. The tribes of the newly acquired Colonial possessions continued to make trouble. To reward the troops taking part in such campaigns, a silver medal of 32 mm. was authorized on September 6, 1913. This was identical with the Turkish war medal, except that the reverse bears the words <i>GUERRA/IN LIBIA</i>. The ribbon is of the same design and colour.</p> <p>WAR CROSS OF ITALY. Authorized in 1918. It was awarded to those worthy of official recognition during the World War, but whose service was not of sufficient importance to warrant the Medal of Military Valour. The Decoration is of bronze, 38 mm., in the form of the Savoy Cross. On the obverse is inscribed <i>MERITO DI</i></p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY

Medal for the World War

72	ITALIAN ORDERS
	<p><i>GUERRA</i>, above which is the King's crowned monogram, <i>V. E.</i> and <i>III.</i> On the lower arm of the cross is an upright sword entwined with a branch of oak. The reverse has a star in the centre surrounded by rays. The ribbon is dark blue with two white stripes.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR THE WORLD WAR. Created on July 29, 1920 and made from captured Austrian cannon. It is bronze, 32 mm. On the obverse appears the helmeted bust of the King, encircled by the inscription, <i>GUERRA PER L'UNITA D'ITALIA 1915-1918</i> and three branches of oak leaves. The reverse has an allegorical figure of Victory, standing on a support borne by two helmeted soldiers, and the inscription <i>CONITA NEL BRONZE NEMICO</i> (Coined from enemy bronze). The ribbon has eighteen narrow stripes of green, white and red—six of each colour. Bars were issued to be worn on the ribbon to designate the years of service in the war. These bear the dates of <i>1915, 1916, 1917</i> and <i>1918.</i></p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



ITALY

Medal of National Gratitude

74	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>VICTORY MEDAL. Created on December 16, 1920, but not issued until 1922. The medal is bronze, 36 mm. As with the Victory medals of the other allies, the winged Victory is the dominant feature. This figure stands facing on a triumphal chariot drawn by four lions. The reverse shows a tripod above which two doves of peace are to be seen. At top the inscription <i>GRANDE-GVERRA-PER-LA-CIVILTA</i>. In field, at each side of tripod <i>MCMXIV-MCMXVIII</i>, below, in two lines, <i>AI COMBATTENTI DELLE NAZIONI/ALLEATE ED ASSOCIATE</i>. The badge is suspended by the rainbow ribbon as are all the Victory medals.</p> <p>MEDAL OF NATIONAL GRATITUDE. This medal is awarded to mothers who lost sons in the World War. The obverse shows an allegorical figure presenting a wreath to a fallen warrior. Standing alongside is another female in an attitude of grief. The reverse has an inscription in eight lines <i>IL FIGLIO / CHE TI NACQUE / DAL DOLORE / TI RINASCE "O BEATA" /</i></p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



ITALY
Victory Medal

76	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p><i>NELLA GLORIA / E IL VIVO EROE / "PIENA DI GRAZIA" / E TECO.</i> The ribbon is grey with center composed of narrow green, white and red stripes.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR WAR ORPHANS. This medal has also been authorized but no information has been received concerning it.</p> <p>ITALIAN UNITY MEDAL. This medal has not as yet been distributed and details concerning it are lacking. It is to be sold and the money received is to go to the widows and mothers of those killed in the war.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR WAR VOLUNTEERS. Notice has been received that a medal will be issued shortly to those who volunteered in the World War.</p> <p>CROWN OF MERIT. At this writing, and before any confirmation could be secured, advices have come that the Councils of Ministers have proposed a decoration to be awarded to clerks and workingmen who have remained faithful to their employers for</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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twenty-five years or more. Presumably this medal is intended to stimulate a spirit of co-operation between the employed and employer. No decision as to the design has been announced.

Several of the municipalities of Northern Italy issued medals to honor those who aided in the efforts to free that country during the strenuous days of 1848-1849. None of these medals of the cities are official medals, and consequently few if any of the authorities mention them. They are inserted here in order that the numismatist may have some facts relating to them.

Como had a medal inscribed on the obverse, *COMO LIBERATA NELLE GLORIOSE GIORNATE 18-22 MARZO 1848*. The reverse bears the Arms of the city and the words *AL VALORE DEL CITTADINO*.

Bologna issued a medal inscribed *VITTORIO BOLOGNA 8./8.1848*. On the reverse, *QUANDA IL POPOLO SI DESTA DIO SI PONE ALLA SUA TESTA*.

Livorno's medal bears on the obverse *AI VALOROSI DIFENSORI DI LIVORNO 10 E 11/5 1849*. The reverse bears the

AND MONOGRAPHS

78	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>Arms of the State and the words <i>MUNICIPIO DI LIVORNO</i>. The ribbons for the above medals are red and white.</p> <p>Milano likewise had a medal to show her appreciation of the efforts of her citizens for freedom. It bears on the obverse a figure of Victory and the dome of the Cathedral. The reverse has the Arms of the State and the inscription <i>COMMUNE DI MILANO</i>. The ribbon is red and yellow.</p> <p>Cadore, Vicenza and Brescia are also said to have issued medals, but a dependable description has not been obtainable.</p> <p>During the war of 1848–1849 against Austria, and the several Principalities of which Italy is now composed, Rome, too, became involved. At the time of the Insurrection of 1848, Pope Pius IX fled to Gaeta, where he remained until 1850. On February 9, 1849, Rome was declared a Republic. To those who took part in the Insurrection, and who aided in the formation of the short-lived Republic, as well as for connection with subsequent events, Rome awarded several medals. As with the others, authentic information is difficult to obtain.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

79

MEDAL OF MERIT. Issued for the battle of Vicenza on June 10, 1848. This medal was of both silver and bronze, and 30 mm. in diameter. On the obverse within a wreath of oak leaves, the Arms of the city of Rome—a crowned shield, bearing the letters *S. P. Q. R.* (*Senatus Populus que Romanus*—The Senate and the people of Rome). Around this device is the inscription *ALMAE VRBIS COSS BENEMERENTI*. On a plain reverse is the motto, *PVGNA STRENVE / AD VICETIAM / PVGNATA / IV.EIDVS VINIAS / M.DCCC.XLVIII*. The ribbon is of equal stripes of magenta and yellow—the colours of Rome.

MEDAL OF MERIT (Rome). Issued in silver and bronze. The obverse has in the centre, the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus. Around this is *BENEMERITO DELLA PATRIA*, with an oak and olive branch beneath. The reverse has in the centre a group of flags and a trophy of arms, surrounded by the inscription *INDIPENDENZA ITALIANA 1848*. The ribbon is similar to the preceding.

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MEDAL OF MERIT. Struck in silver and bronze, and is said to have been issued by the Republic of Rome to those who distinguished themselves during the Insurrection of 1848. It is 30 mm., and has on the obverse the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, standing on a pedestal, bearing the letters *S. P. Q. R.* The reverse reads *AL MERITO*, surrounded by an oak wreath. The ribbon is magenta and yellow.

Another medal is described by one authority as a reward to the combatants of 1848. It is 23 mm., bronze, and bears on the obverse an allegorical female figure, holding a spear in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. At her feet is a globe surmounted by an eagle. Above is a rayed star. On the edge is inscribed *REPUBLICA ROMANA*. On the reverse is the motto *ALLA VIRTU CITTADINA* within an oak wreath. This is surrounded by the inscription *LA PATRIA RICONOSCENTE*. No ribbon is described.

According to Padiglione still another Medal of Merit was issued in commemoration of September 20, 1870, when Rome was

NUMISMATIC NOTES



ROME. Battle of Vicenza

ROME. Medal of Merit

82	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>admitted into the Kingdom of Italy. Sculfort, a French writer, says this medal was given to commemorate the proclamation of the Republic of Rome in 1848; although preference is here given to the Italian authority's version. The medal was issued in silver and bronze, 30 mm. in diameter. On the obverse is a shield bearing the Arms of the City, surmounted by the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus. This device rests upon two crossed battle axes and an oak wreath. The reverse bears within an oak wreath <i>ROMA/RIVENDICATA/AI SUOI/LIBERATORI</i>, surmounted by a star. The ribbon has narrow alternating stripes of magenta and yellow. Some ribbons have nineteen stripes; others have eleven.</p>
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MEDALS OF HONOUR

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THE TWO SICILIES

Even more so than with Italy proper, Sicily has been a battle-ground from the earliest times. And this condition, as is usually the case, has made the numismatics of Sicily of great importance. Before the period of coinage, the Sikels dwelt in the land. Later the Carthaginians disputed with the Greeks for its control, both yielding ultimately to the Romans. In addition to the struggles between the Normans and the Spaniards for its possession, it had to withstand the onslaught of the Saracens.

Sicily, especially in the mediæval period, has shared the fate of the kingdom of Naples, or, as they came to be known, the Kingdom of the two Sicilies—a title which in itself is a commentary of the relative importance of Naples. After the Lombard rule in the 11th century, the Normans, under Count Roger, brought about a consolidation of Naples and Sicily. The conquest dates from 1130 A.D., when he assumed the title

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of King of Naples and Sicily. There were two periods of separation—1282 to 1442 and 1458 to 1504, but after the last-named year the two kingdoms remained under one crown until the unification of Italy in 1861.

It is unnecessary here to dwell upon the constantly changing rule for the two kingdoms more than to mention the conflict between the House of Anjou and of Aragon through the 14th and 15th centuries. Under Charles VIII (from 1494), the French ruled, while between 1504 and 1707 the Spanish were in control. They were followed by the Austrians (until 1720). After that date Spanish Bourbons held possession.

The Napoleonic rule on the mainland dates from 1805, while Ferdinand IV controlled the island of Sicily. The downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo saw the two kingdoms again united under the Bourbons. The wars for the independence of Italy, and the efforts of Garibaldi in 1859 and 1860, finally brought both sections into the Kingdom of Italy and under the rule of the house of Savoy.

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MEDALS OF HONOUR

85

ORDER OF THE SHIP. In 1269, St. Louis founded in France the Order of the Ship or of the Double Crescent. Upon his death in 1270, his brother, Charles d'Anjou, established this order in the Kingdom of Naples. Owing to the design of the collar, this order is sometimes given a third name—The Order of the Sea Shell. The insignia was a gold collar of scallop shells, alternating with double crescents. From this was suspended a medal with a ship as its design. The motto is *NON CREDO TEMPORI*. Clark, an English writer, describes an order founded in 1382 by Charles III, King of Naples, called the "Order of St. Nicholas," while Elias Ashmole styles it "The Order of the Argonauts of St. Nicholas." Both give the motto as *NON CREDO TEMPORI*. Apparently, therefore, this is a survival or a later form of the Order of the Double Crescent.

ORDER OF THE CRESCENT. Favine states that this order was founded in Angiers, France, in 1464, by René, Duke of Anjou, King of Jerusalem and Sicily. Ashmole quotes St. Marthes as giving 1448

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as the date for its foundation. René was unable to hold his island kingdom very long. The order was not popular, and those honoured with it were afraid to wear the badge. The insignia consisted of three gold chains from which is suspended a gold crescent, bearing three letters in red, *L.O.Z.*, which signify, according to Favine, *L'oz en croissant* (Praise by increasing). To the crescent were attached gold tags indicating the battles and feats of honour in which the knights had been engaged.²

Aragon controlled the Island Kingdom of Sicily from 1282 to 1442. In 1351 Louis I, King of Sicily, founded the ORDER OF THE STAR to replace that of the CRESCENT MOON. This insignia was a Maltese cross, in the centre of which is an eight-pointed star. This Order seems to have been discontinued in 1394. Giustinian, the Italian writer in 1692, gives a list of eighteen Grand Masters of the Order of the Crescent Moon and of the Star from 1268 to 1667. This would seem to indicate that the Orders described above were connected or continued by the several rulers under different titles.

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ORDER OF THE SPUR. Founded in 1266 by Charles d'Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, to commemorate his triumph over Manfred near Benevento. The insignia is a white-enamelled cross, each of the arms having double points. A spur is attached at the base. The Order was shortlived.

ORDER OF THE KNOT OF NAPLES. Created in 1351 by Louis of Taranto when he married the Queen of Naples. This was also termed the "Order of the Holy Spirit of the Right Desire." It ceased to exist after the death of the founder. The insignia is a knot of cord entwined with gold thread.

ORDER OF THE REEL AND LIONESS (Naples). This Order, of short duration, was instituted by partisans of the house of Anjou, during the troubles of 1386-1390. The insignia is a yarn reel and a lioness, the significance of which is difficult to learn. Clark, writing in 1784, states that the followers of Louis II, Duke of Anjou, were divided into two factions, one of which wore

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on its arms an embroidered reel as a sign of contempt for Queen Margaret, widow of Charles III, who desired to hold the reins of government. This faction took the name of "Knights of the Reel." The other, the Knights of the Lioness, wore on its breast the figure of a lioness with feet tied, indicating that it looked upon Queen Margaret as one tied by the leg.

ORDER OF THE ERMINE (Naples). Founded in 1463, by Ferdinand I (1423-1494) Aragon, King of Naples, at the end of the war which he had been waging against John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria. He was led into this war by his brother-in-law, Marinus Marcianus, Duke of Sesso, who conspired to murder Ferdinand. Marinus was not only pardoned for his treachery but was admitted into this Order. The motto was *MALO MORI QUAM FOEDARI* (Death is preferable to dishonor), and the patron was St. Basil. The badge is a gold ermine suspended from a gold chain. Authorities differ as to the exact date of both the creating and discontinuance of this Order.

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ORDER OF THE GRIFFIN (Naples). Attributed to Alphonse by Perrot and by De Genouillac. The date of its founding is given as 1489. As Alphonse died in 1458 and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I, who reigned until 1494, it may, therefore, have been instituted by Ferdinand. No description of the insignia can be found.

ORDER OF SAINT MICHAEL (Naples). This Order is likewise attributed to Ferdinand I, and the insignia is described by Ashmole as an oval, bearing the word *DECORUM*. No other record has been found.

ORDER OF SAINT JANUARIUS (of the Two Sicilies). Founded on July 6, 1738, by King Charles of Sicily (1716-1788), to celebrate his marriage with Princess Amelia, daughter of Augustus III of Poland. Charles was of the Spanish Bourbons, and second son of Philip V. His army had conquered Sicily, and he became its King in 1735 at the age of eighteen, having previously borne the titles of Duke of Parma and Grand-Duke

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90	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>of Tuscany. In 1759 he became Charles III of Spain, at which time he resigned his Neapolitan and Sicilian Kingdom in favor of his son, Ferdinand. Charles formed the Noble Order of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, often also called "The Order of Charles III of Spain." It was he who, as King of Spain, joined France in sending assistance to the American Colonies in their war of Independence. At the Peace Treaty following that conflict, he recovered Florida for Spain from England, to whom it had been ceded in 1763.</p> <p>Saint Januarius (San Genaro), for whom this Order is named, was the Patron Saint of Naples. Relics of this Saint, to whom miraculous cures are attributed, are preserved in the cathedral named for him in that city. When the French invaded Naples in 1806, the Order was abolished in that country, though it continued in Sicily, whither Ferdinand had fled. It was revived after 1814. At the present time it is classed among the non-active Orders of Italy. There are two classes: Knights and Honorary Knights. The badge of the Order is a</p>
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TWO SICILIES
Order of Saint Januarius

gold Maltese cross, enamelled red with white edges; gold Bourbon lilies in the angles. The obverse centre has a figure of the patron saint, San Genaro, clad in a red robe and hat, with an open book in the left hand. The reverse shows an open book and two receptacles partly filled with the miraculous blood of this martyr. The ribbon is bright red. The plaque is of silver, the same design as the cross, and bears the words *IN SANGUINE FOEDUS* (the Covenant in Blood).

ROYAL MILITARY ORDER OF SAINT CHARLES. Instituted by Royal Decree of October 22, 1738, by King Charles, its purpose was to reward citizens and members of the army and navy who had shown exceptional zeal and fidelity to the crown. This Order supposedly never received the Apostolic confirmation of the Pope, and according to an Italian writer, Ruotolo, was shortlived, all record of its existence having been lost when Charles, its founder, assumed the throne of Spain in 1759.

The decoration is a four-armed cross, each

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arm terminating in the form of a lily, and the whole surmounted by a royal crown. The centre medallion bears the image of Saint Charles. No description of the reverse is given. The ribbon is violet.

ORDER OF SAINT FERDINAND and OF MERIT. Founded on April 1, 1800 by Ferdinand IV, King of Naples (also Ferdinand III of Sicily and I of the Two Sicilies). It was instituted in commemoration of his having been restored to his Kingdom after the defeat of the French by the united forces of England, Austria, Russia and Turkey. The object of the Order was to reward the Neapolitans who had remained faithful to the King and his monarchy. Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronte, was one of the first foreigners to have this Order bestowed upon him. He was made a Knight of the Grand Cross. Like the Order of Saint Januarius, this was suppressed in Naples when the French under Joseph Bonaparte controlled that country. It was continued in Sicily until 1814 but is said to have been definitely abolished in 1860.

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94	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p>There were three classes: Knights of the Grand Cross, Commanders and Chevaliers. The cross of this Order is a gold star of six branches, in the form of rays. In the angles are Bourbon lilies. The whole is surmounted by a crown of gold. The gold-centred medallion bears a figure of St. Ferdinand in Royal robes and crowned, holding a laurel wreath in the left and a sword in his right hand. The encircling blue-enamelled band is inscribed <i>FIDEI ET MERITO</i>. The reverse centre of gold is inscribed <i>FERD. IV. INST. ANNO 1800</i>. The plaque of the Order is similar to the obverse of the cross, without the crown. A dark blue ribbon with red edges is used for suspension of the cross.</p> <p>MEDAL OF HONOUR. By a decree of July 25, 1810, Ferdinand IV added a gold and silver Medal of Honour. This was 33 mm. in diameter, with the obverse similar to the cross. The reverse was inscribed <i>FIDEI ET MERITO</i>. This was worn with a similar ribbon. Officers and privates of the Army and Navy were awarded this medal for distinguished services.</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



TWO SICILIES
Medal of Honour

MEDAL OF MERIT FOR LOMBARDY. Ferdinand IV instituted a medal of silver for the Neapolitan troops who assisted him in the campaign in Lombardy against the French in 1796. This was 38 mm., bearing on the obverse the helmeted effigy of the king and the title, *FERDIN. IV UTRI SICILIAE REX P.F.A.* (*P-Pio*, devout, *F-Forte*, brave, *A-Augusto*, august). On the reverse, within a laurel wreath, *FIDEI/ REGIAE DOMUS / PATRIAE / PROPUGNATORI / OB / EGREGIA FACTA.* In the exergue, *E.V.A/MDCCXCVI.*

MEDAL OF MERIT FOR SIENA. This medal was of gold and awarded by Ferdinand IV to the troops who distinguished themselves in the Siena campaign in 1797. On the obverse is the helmeted effigy of the king and his title *FERDINANDUS IV UTRIUSQ. SICILIAE REX P.F.A.* On the reverse is an allegorical figure of a woman crowning a soldier with a laurel wreath. Surrounding this, an inscription reads *MILITIBUS BENE DE REGE AC PATRIA MERITIS.* In the exergue is

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MEDALS OF HONOUR

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E.V.A./MDCCXCVII. The ribbon is blue and white, edged with narrower stripes of blue (Sculfort, p. 176).

MEDAL OF HONOUR FOR THE SIEGE OF GAETA. When Napoleon I sent his brother Joseph Bonaparte to rule over the kingdom of Sicily, Ferdinand IV fled to Gaeta. This fortress was gallantly defended in 1806 against the French under Maréchal Masséna, but was finally forced to capitulate, and Ferdinand fled to the island of Sicily. To reward those who valiantly assisted him to hold his kingdom, Ferdinand IV instituted this Medal of Honour. It is 35 mm., and was struck in both gold and silver, and is suspended from a deep red ribbon. The obverse of the medal has a bust of the king facing to right, the head wearing a helmet, laurel wreathed and surmounted by a dragon. The inscription is *FERDINANDUS IV. D. G. SICILIARUM REX.* The reverse has in the centre a view of the fortress of Gaeta, surrounded by the motto, *MERITO ET FIDEI CAJETAE DEFENSORUM 1806.*

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98	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>ROYAL ORDER OF THE TWO SICILIES. Created on February 24, 1808, by Joseph Napoleon, when King of Naples It was issued in three classes: Grand Officers, Commanders and Chevaliers. Joachim Murat, when ruler, modified the Order in 1811; its purpose was to reward those who had assisted in the conquest of the country. The decoration is a red-enamelled star of five points, ball tipped and with gold edges. Above this is the Imperial eagle surmounted by a crown. In the centre medallion is the Arms of Sicily, a Trinacria or Triquetra, having a face in the centre. This medallion is surrounded by the title, <i>JOS. NAPOLEO SICIL. REX INSTITUIT</i>. The reverse medallion bears a prancing horse, the Arms of Naples, encircled by a blue-enamelled band inscribed <i>PRO RENOVATA PATRIA</i>. The ribbon is dark blue with a red stripe in centre.</p> <p>Following the death of Murat on October 13, 1815, the Kingdom was restored to Ferdinand IV, who changed the design of the above decoration. The star was attached to the surmounting crown by a lily</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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(replacing the eagle). The obverse medal-
lion contained the Arms of Sicily and of
Naples, surrounded by the inscription
*FERDINANDUS BORBONIUS UTRI-
USQUE SICILIAE REX P.F.A.* (*Pio Forte
Augusto*). The reverse medallion had in
the centre a Bourbon lily and the motto
*FELICITATE RESTITUTA X.KAL.JUN.
1815*. The ribbon was changed to azure blue
with a red stripe in the centre. This Order
was finally abolished in 1819 and replaced by
the "Order of Saint George of the Reunion."

**MEDAL OF HONOUR FOR THE PRO-
VINCIAL LEGION.** On March 29, 1809,
Joachim Murat, instituted this medal for
the Provincial Legion. It is of silver and
bronze, and bears on the obverse the effigy
of the King, facing to left, encircled by
the words *GIOACCHINO NAPOL. RE
DELLA DUE SICIL.* On the reverse is a
group of fourteen flags and a royal crown,
the outer flags bearing, respectively, the
words *SICUREZZA/INTERNA*. Around
this device is the inscription *ALLE LEGIONI*

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100	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p><i>PROVINCIALI 26 MARZO 1809.</i> The ribbon is light blue moiré. Ruot, the Italian writer, states that the inscription on the obverse is <i>Gioacchino Napoleone</i>, but the previous description is taken from a medal and various French authorities.</p> <p>MEDAL OF HONOUR FOR NAPLES. Murat authorized another Medal of Honour on November 1, 1814, to reward the guard of Naples for its devotion to his cause. It is of gold and silver, in the form of a wreath of oak and laurel leaves, tied with a ribbon and surmounted by a crown. Superimposed on the wreath are two crossed flags, enamelled in the colours of the kingdom. On the obverse centre medallion of white is the bust of the king, facing to left, and the title <i>GIOACCHINO NAPOLEONE</i> (or <i>GIOACCHINO RE DI NAPOLI</i>). On the reverse medallion are the words <i>ONORE ET FEDELTA</i>. The ribbon is magenta. The Medal for Civil Merit is similar to the above, except that the reverse is inscribed <i>ONORE ET MERITO</i>.</p>
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MEDALS OF HONOUR

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MEDAL OF HONOUR. After the death of Murat at Pizzo, a medal of 38 mm. was authorized by Ferdinand IV. It was issued in gold and silver, and worn with a bright red ribbon. On the obverse is a crowned effigy of the restored king, facing to left, and the inscription *FERDINANDUS IV UTRISQUE SICILIAE REX P.F.A.* The reverse has in the centre a large Bourbon lily, surrounded by the inscription *OB EGREGIAM URBIS PITII FIDELITATEM.* In the exergue, *POSTRIDIE NONAS OCTOBRIS/ANNI R. S./MDCCCXV.*

MEDAL OF HONOUR (Sicily). By decrees of August 9 and 30, 1816, bronze medals were authorized and awarded to soldiers and sailors who were faithful to the cause of Ferdinand IV. This is a green-enamelled Maltese cross with gold Bourbon lilies in each angle. The centre medallion bears the effigy of the king to right, and the words *FERDINANDO IV INSTITUI 1816.* The reverse has in the centre a lily and the inscription *CONSTANTE ATTACCA-MENTO.* This was worn with a red ribbon.

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	<p>SECURITY GUARD MEDAL. Created on May 30, 1816, and issued in gold and silver; it was worn with a Bourbon red ribbon. The medal is surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves and surmounted by a crown, attached by laurel branches. On the obverse is the effigy of the king surrounded by the title <i>FERDINANDO IV RE DELLE DUE SICILIE P.F.A.</i> The reverse bears a lily and the motto <i>ALLA GUARDIA DI SICUREZZA</i>. In the exergue, <i>PER LA GIORNATA DE 22 MAGGIO 1815</i>.</p> <p>ROYAL MILITARY ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE OF THE REUNION. This order was created on January 1, 1819, by Ferdinand IV. It commemorated the reunion of Naples and Sicily, and was awarded for valour, military distinction and loyalty. There are four classes: Knights of the Grand Cross, Commanders, Officers and Chevaliers, the decoration varying in size according to the grade. This Order was discontinued in 1860, with the formation of the present Kingdom of Italy. The insignia is a red-enamelled cross, fleurée, with</p>
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TWO SICILIES
Order of Saint George of the Reunion

104	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>concave arms. Two gold swords cross at the angles, and a wreath of green-enamelled laurel connects the arms of the cross and the swords. The medallion bears a figure of Saint George slaying the dragon; around this is a blue-enamelled band inscribed <i>IN HOC SIGNO VINCES</i>. The reverse is the same, with the word <i>VIRTUTI</i> above. The ribbon is light blue moiré. The decoration of the Knights of the Grand Cross is distinguished from the other grades by a gold pendant of St. George and the dragon. The Chevalier's cross has no such pendant; and on the reverse is the word <i>MERITO</i>.</p> <p>MEDAL OF ST. GEORGE. In addition to the "Order of Saint George of the Reunion," gold medals were awarded for heroism in war, and in silver for continued service. These are 28 mm., bearing in the centre the figure of St. George slaying the dragon, encircled by a wreath and the words <i>VIRTUTI</i> or <i>MERITO</i> according to the purpose of the award. The obverse and reverse are the same. The ribbon is blue with yellow edges.</p>
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ORDER OF CONSTANTINE, (described on page 18). Instituted in Naples and Sicily by Don Carlos in 1734. Joseph Bonaparte abolished it in 1808, although it continued in the island of Sicily. Upon the return of Ferdinand IV to Naples in 1814, it was restored in both Kingdoms.

ROYAL ORDER OF FRANCIS I. Francis I, upon the death of his father, Ferdinand IV, became King of the Two Sicilies on January 4, 1825. He was of the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbon family. On September 28, 1829, he founded the Royal Order of Francis I. Though usually conferred as a reward for Civil Merit, the army was not debarred from its honours. There are five classes: Grand Cross, Commanders, Officers, Knights and Chevaliers. The fourth and fifth classes receive, respectively, the gold and silver medals, described later. This Order was discontinued in 1860 when the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became part of Italy, though, as a family Order, it was continued for a while longer. The decoration is a four-armed,

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	<p>double-pointed cross of white enamel with gold edges, surmounted by a gold crown. Bourbon lilies of gold are in each angle. The medallion is larger than in most of the other Orders. In the centre, on a field of gold, appear the initials of the founder, <i>F.I.</i>, with crown above. These are surrounded by a laurel wreath of enamel. On the blue encircling band are the words, <i>DE REGE OPTIME MERITO</i>. The reverse bears the inscription <i>FRANCISCUS PRIMUS INSTITUIT MDCCCXXIX</i>, within a green wreath. The ribbon is bright red with blue edges. The star or plaque of the order is a silver cross without the crown, and with the same centre medallion.</p> <p>The gold and silver medals, worn by the fourth and fifth classes, are 36 mm. in diameter, bearing on the obverse the portrait of the founder, within a laurel wreath, and the inscription <i>FRANCISCUS I.D.G.UTRIUSQUE SICIL. ETHIER. REX</i>. The reverse has three Bourbon lilies in the centre within a wreath, and the motto <i>DE REGE OPTIME MERITO 1829</i>. The ribbon is dark red with blue edges; not as wide as that for the Cross.</p>
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TWO SICILIES
Order of Francis I

108	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>MEDAL OF CIVIL MERIT. Authorized by royal decree of December 17, 1727. It is of gold and silver and worn with a red ribbon. The obverse bears an effigy of the king, and the title <i>FRANCISCUS I.D.G. REGNI UTRIUSQUE SICIL. ET HIER. REX.</i> On the plain reverse is engraved the name, date and cause of award. A medal similar to this was awarded during the reign of Ferdinand II and may be found with either of the following inscriptions: <i>FERDINANDUS II REGNI UTRIUSQUE SICILIAE ET HIERUS.</i> or <i>FERDINANDO II RE DEL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE.</i></p> <p>Another MEDAL OF CIVIL MERIT was issued, 44 mm. in size. On the obverse are busts of Francis I and Queen Maria Isabella, facing to right, surrounded by branches of laurel. On the reverse is a Bourbon lily, crowned.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR MESSINA. Francis I was succeeded in 1830 by his son, Ferdinand II, who died in 1859. Ferdinand II instituted the <i>Medal for Messina</i> for troops faithful to him, in that city, during the Revolution</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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of 1847. It is of bronze, and 30 mm. On the obverse, within a wreath of oak and laurel leaves, is the word *FEDELTA* with one Bourbon lily. The reverse reads, *MESSINA 1 SEPTEMBRE 1847*. The ribbon is light blue and white. A variant of this medal has on the obverse the effigy of the king and the words *FERDINANDO II RE DEL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE*; and on the reverse the word *FEDELTA*.

LONG SERVICE MEDAL. Ferdinand II also created a bronze medal for Long Service. It is 38 mm. and bears on the obverse the king's bust on a pedestal, surrounded by implements of war and flags. Above is *FERDINANDO II*. The reverse reads *LODEVOLLE SERVIZIO MILITARE DI 25 ANNI*. The ribbon is red.

MEDAL FOR THE SIEGE OF MESSINA. After the long siege of the citadel of Messina in 1848 by Ferdinand II which resulted in his reconquest of Sicily, a commemorative medal was authorized by the king. This was to reward the troops who

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	<p>had taken part in the campaign. The medal for the senior officers was of gold and enamel, 35 mm. in diameter. On the obverse within a green-enamelled laurel wreath, is a pentagonal fort; in the corners are five bombs, the flames of which rest upon the wreath. In the centre is the fleur-de-lis of the Bourbons, in relief. The reverse is similar, except that in the centre of the pentagon is the legend, <i>ASSEDIO/ DELLA / CITTADELLA / DI MESSINA / 1848</i>. The ribbon is red. For the junior officers and soldiers the medal was of bronze and of the same size, without enamel. Obverse and reverse are identical, and the medal was worn with a red ribbon. A variant of this medal has a plain reverse, no fort, or bombs, but with the same inscription in relief.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR SICILY. Created for the troops who, under the leadership of Filangieri, suppressed the Insurrection of 1848-1849. This is of bronze-gilt, and displays the effigy of Ferdinand II facing to right within a wreath of oak leaves. Outside the wreath are two draped flags, the whole is</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



TWO SICILIES
Siege of Messina
Long Service Medal, Ferdinand II

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	<p>surmounted by a Bourbon lily. The plain reverse has <i>CAMPAGNA DI SICILIA 1849</i>, in relief. The ribbon has three equal stripes of light blue and white.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR CAMPAIGN OF 1860. Francis II came to the throne of Sicily in 1859, about the time of the Garibaldi campaign for the Independence of Italy. His reign was short. The Medal for the <i>Campaign of 1860</i> was created by him for those troops who were loyal to him and opposed to Garibaldi. It is bronze, 37 mm., and bears on the obverse the effigy of the king, facing to left, within a wreath of oak leaves. Surrounding this is <i>FRANCESCO II RE DELLE DUE SICILIE</i>. The reverse bears the words, <i>TRIFRISCO, CAIAZZO, S.MARIA, S. ANGELO, GARIGLIANO</i>, surmounted by three Bourbon lilies. Around this inscription appear the words, <i>CAMPAGNA DI SETT. OTT. 1860</i>. The ribbon is red with a blue stripe in the centre.</p> <p>CAMPAIGN OF EASTERN SICILY. Authorized in 1860. It bears on the obverse</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



TWO SICILIES
Medal for Sicily, Ferdinand II

114	ITALIAN ORDERS
	<p>the effigy of Francis II facing to right, and the words <i>SICILIA OCCIDENTALE/ APRILE E MAGGIO/1860</i>. On the reverse, within a wreath of laurel, the words <i>AL VALORE</i>. This is bronze, and 27 mm. in diameter. A variant of this medal was issued without the likeness of the king on the obverse.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR THE DEFENSE OF CATANIA. The obverse bears the effigy of Francis II, a trophy of arms, and the words <i>CATANIA 31 MAGGIO 1860</i>; the reverse, within a wreath of laurel, the words <i>AL VALORE</i>.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR GAETA. Issued to the refugees who fled to Gaeta with the Royal family in 1860-61 when Garibaldi entered Naples. The medal is silver, 36 mm., having on the obverse the jugated busts of the King and Queen Maria Sophia of Bavaria and the words <i>FRANCESCO II—MARIA SOFIA</i>. The reverse shows a view of the city of Gaeta, with <i>GAETA 1860-1861</i> in the exergue. A variation of this medal has</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



TWO SICILIES
Medal for Gaeta, Francis II

116	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>on the reverse the fortress of Gaeta only, with the same inscription in the exergue.</p> <p>After the Garibaldi campaign of 1860-1861 for the freedom of Sicily, and after the Royal family had given up the Kingdom of Sicily, Francis II by a decree dated March 12, 1861, authorized medals for all his soldiers who took part in the second siege of Messina. It appears that dies were made but only one medal is known to have been struck. That rests in the famous Ricciardi collection in Naples. The writer is indebted to Sig. Guido de'Mayo's article in the May-June 1922 issue of <i>Miscellanea Numismatica</i>, which describes this medal.</p> <p>It is silver, 35 mm., and bears on the obverse the jugated busts of the King and Queen, facing to left (similar to the Gaeta Medal), and the titles, <i>FRANCESCO II—MARIA SOFIA</i>. The reverse has a design of the pentagonal fortress of Messina; in the corners of the pentagon are five bombs, the flames of which rest on the wreath which surrounds the fort. In the centre is the Bourbon fleur-de-lis. The exergue reads <i>CITTADELLA DI MESSINA 1860-61</i>.</p>
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The ribbon is given as red with blue stripes.

MEDAL FOR SICILY. This is said to have been awarded to those who took part in the uprising against Ferdinand II in 1848, in the movement for a United Italy, but the purpose of this award cannot be verified from the several authorities consulted. It was issued in silver and bronze, 30 mm., and suspended from a ribbon of the Italian National colours—three equal stripes of green, white and red. On the obverse is an allegorical figure of Sicily, armed with a sword; at her feet is a shield with the Arms of Sicily, while in the sky, a brilliant sun bears the Arms of Savoy. In the distance is Mt. Aetna in eruption. The reverse has in the centre *SICILIA/1848*. Around this is the inscription, *INIZIO DEL RISORGIMENTO D'ITALIA*.

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	<p style="text-align: center;">TUSCANY</p> <p>Tuscany, the ancient Etruria, lies south of the Apennines. On the east it was bounded by the districts of Umbria and the Marches, while to the south lay the section known in Classical times as Latium, but which later, with the rise of the Church, was usually known as the Papal States. None of these provinces had boundaries that were fixed for any great length of time, and their geographical history is very complicated.</p> <p>Between the 10th and 16th Centuries, Tuscany was composed of several self-governed communes or Republics, the most important of which were Lucca, Pisa, Florence and Siena. The Medici family was a dominant factor in the government for a long period. In 1735 the country came under Austrian rule. Francis, Duke of Lorraine and afterwards Emperor of Austria (1708-1765), became Grand Duke of Tuscany. He succeeded John Gaston, the last of his line, and thus the Duchy passed</p>
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from the control of the Medici and into that of the Hapsburg family. This had been arranged by treaty.

The Hapsburgs continued in control until the entrance of the French in 1799 under Napoleon I, though the battle of Waterloo in 1815 brought back once more their rule in the domain. Ferdinand III (1769-1824) was succeeded by his son, Leopold II, who lost the Duchy of Tuscany when the constituent Assembly voted for its inclusion in the Kingdom of Italy on August 16, 1860. From that time all the Orders of Tuscany have been discontinued.

ORDER OF SAINT STEPHEN. This Order was founded at Pisa in 1561 or 1562, by Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence, afterwards the first duke of Tuscany, to commemorate his victory over the French at Siena. The battle took place on St. Stephen's day, August 2, 1554 (or August 6 according to some historians). The inhabitants of the city and the troops under Henry II, after withstanding a siege of fifteen months, finally capitulated. In 1567, Pope Pius V

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OF SAINT JOSEPH.
Ferdinand III on March 19, 1649,
Grand Duke of Wurtzburg he
mitted to the Confederation of

NUMISMATIC NO



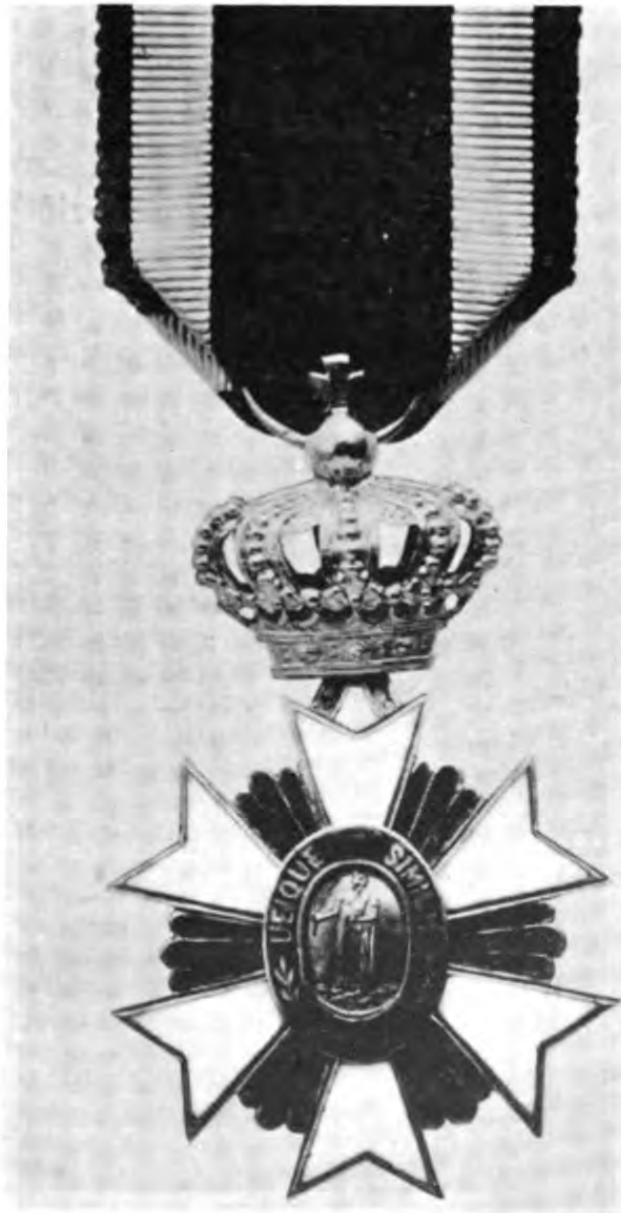
TUSCANY
Order of Saint Stephen

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	<p>granted Cosimo the title of the first Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Order was named in honour of Stephen IX, Pope and martyr, once bishop of Florence, on whose festival Cosimo de' Medici gained his victory. It is said to have been discontinued in 1565, but Elias Ashmole states that new statutes were approved in 1590. He also lists it as one of the Orders extant in 1715; though Hugh Clark informs us that the Order was "revived in 1764 and put on a respectable footing." Whatever its status in the interval may have been, the Order was reorganized in 1817 by Ferdinand III, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1769-1824), and its regulations were altered by him at that time. The insignia is a red-enamelled, gold-edged cross, similar to that of the Knights of Malta. In the angles are golden fleurs-de-lis and above the cross is a ducal crown of gold. The ribbon is bright red.</p> <p>ORDER OF SAINT JOSEPH. Founded by Ferdinand III on March 19, 1807, when as Grand Duke of Wurtzburg he was admitted to the Confederation of the Rhine.</p>
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TUSCANY
Order of Saint Stephen

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	<p>Upon the downfall of the Napoleonic control of Tuscany in 1814, Ferdinand restored the Order in Tuscany when he again assumed control of the Duchy. The Order was for meritorious service and was awarded to civilians, ecclesiastics and the military, whether native or foreign. Generally the honour was confined to those of the Roman Catholic faith. There are three classes: Grand Cross, Commanders and Knights. The Decoration of the first class is silver, a double-pointed, six-armed cross, with rays between the arms. An oval medallion in the centre bears the figure of St. Joseph; around this on the band, likewise of silver, is the motto <i>UBIQUE SIMILIS</i> (Everywhere the same), with a branch of laurel and oak. In the lower centre of the band is the letter <i>F</i>. The cross of the second class is gold, and similar to the star of the first class, though smaller. It has white-enamelled arms, and the rays and the medallion band are of red enamel. It is surmounted by a gold crown and a suspension ring for the ribbon, which is bright red, with a white stripe at each edge. The reverse medallion</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



TUSCANY
Order of Saint Joseph

124	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>has in the centre <i>S.J.F.1807</i> (<i>Sancto Josepho Ferdinando</i>—Dedicated by Ferdinand to Saint Joseph). The third class cross is smaller and worn with a narrower ribbon.</p> <p>ORDER OF THE WHITE CROSS. Instituted by Grand Duke Ferdinand III in 1814. This was a decoration solely for the military faithful to him. It is sometimes called the "Cross of Loyalty." A MEDAL OF HONOUR was also founded in 1816 for those who had distinguished themselves in the Duchy. No description of these two insignia is obtainable from the several authorities consulted.</p> <p>MILITARY MEDAL. Authorized in 1815 for distinguished service. It was awarded only to junior officers and soldiers. This medal is silver, bearing on the obverse a bust of the founder facing to right, and the title <i>FERDINANDO III.A.D.A.GRAND. DI TOSCANA</i>. The reverse has in relief <i>AI PRODI E FEDELI TOSCANI 1815</i>. (To the brave and faithful Tuscans.) The ribbon is half red and half white.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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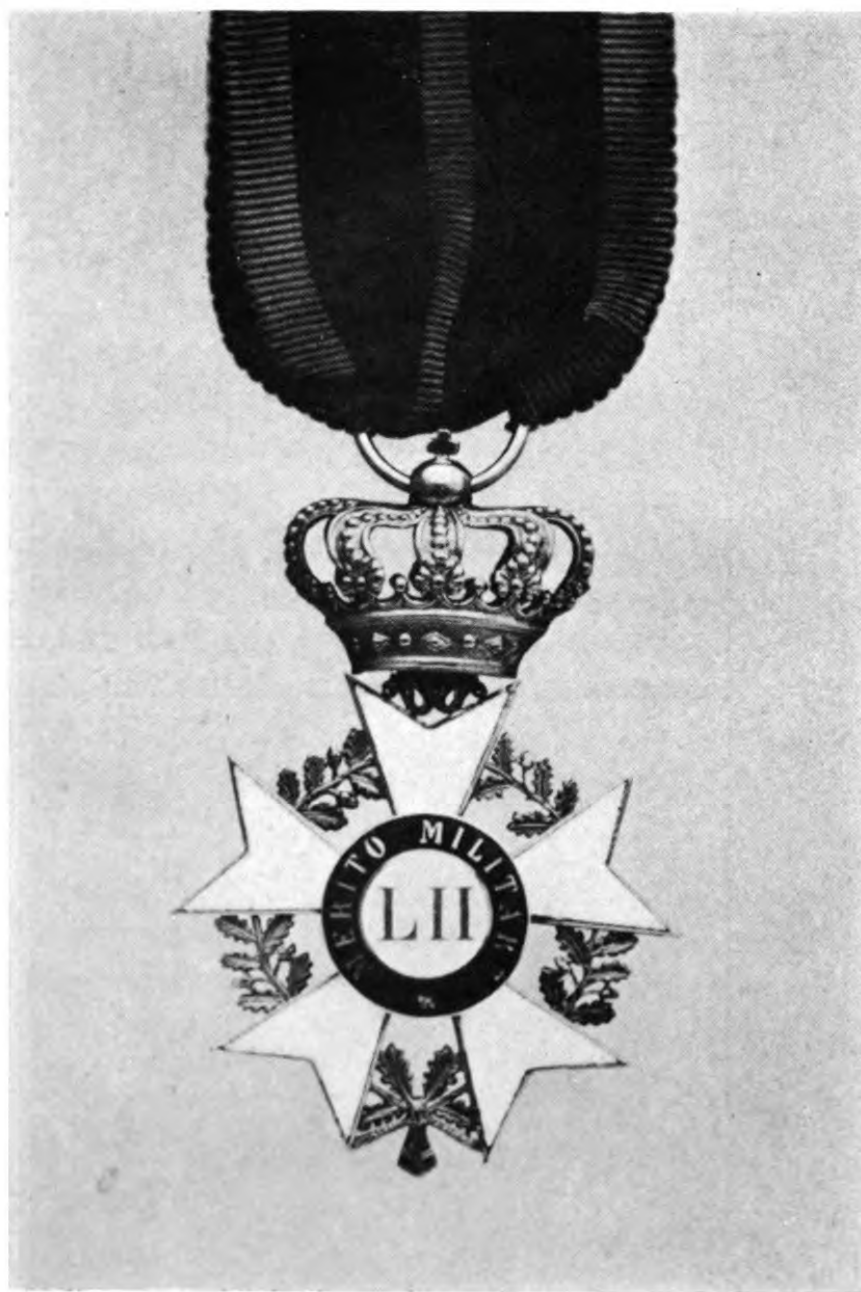
LONG SERVICE MEDAL. Founded in 1816 and issued to junior officers and soldiers. It is bronze, 37 mm., and bears on the obverse two crossed swords, with a shield bearing the letter *F* superimposed. Above this device is a crown, and below is 1816, the date of its creation. The reverse reads, in relief, *AL LUNGO E FEDEL SERVIZIO*. The ribbon is half red and half white.

MEDAL OF MILITARY MERIT. This was founded by Leopold II on May 19, 1841, and bears the effigy of the Duke and the words *LEOPOLDO II GRANDUCA DI TOSCANA*. The reverse has in relief *FIDELTA E VALORE*. The ribbon is half red and half black.

ORDER OF MILITARY MERIT. Instituted on December 19, 1853, by Leopold II. The decoration is a five-armed white-enamelled cross of gold on a gold laurel wreath, which is surmounted by a gold crown. The obverse medallion is inscribed *L II.* surrounded by the words *MERITO*

AND MONOGRAPHS

126	I T A L I A N O R D E R S
	<p><i>MILITARE.</i> On the reverse medallion, 1853 records the date of its creation. The ribbon is of red and black in equal stripes.</p> <p>MEDAL OF 1848. Founded by Leopold II for the war of Italian Independence. This was a service medal for his troops taking part in that campaign. It is bronze-gilt, and bears on the obverse the effigy of the Grand-duke and title <i>LEOPOLDO II GRANDUCA DI TOSCANA</i>. On the reverse within a laurel wreath is the inscription <i>GUERRA/DELLA/INDIPENDENZA/ITALIANA/1848</i>. The loop for the ribbon is a wide bar-like affair, similar to that for many of the Italian medals. The ribbon is blue, bordered with two red stripes.</p> <p>MEDAL OF MERIT. Attributed by but one authority to Ferdinand IV. Issued in five classes; gold, of 40 mm. and 30 mm.; silver, of 49 mm. and 30 mm., and bronze, 45 mm. in diameter, according to the importance of the award. On the obverse is a bust of the Grand-duke and <i>FERDINANDO IV GRANDUCA DI TOSCANA</i>. The re-</p>
	N U M I S M A T I C N O T E S



TUSCANY

Order of Military Merit, Leopold II

128	ITALIAN ORDERS
	<p>verse bears the inscription <i>AL MERITO</i> within a wreath. The ribbon is dark blue with black stripes at the sides.</p> <p>LONG SERVICE MEDAL. Instituted by Leopold II in December, 1850, for officers of the Army who had served at least thirty years. It is 36 mm., a gilt Maltese cross, having in the centre medallion of silver the head of Leopold II to left, encircled by <i>LEOPOLD II G. D. DI TOSC.</i> On the reverse medallion is the word <i>ANZIANITA</i>, with a crown above. No information concerning the ribbon is obtainable.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES



VENICE. Defence of Venice, 1848

TUSCANY. Long Service Medal

130	ITALIAN ORDERS AND
	<p>VENICE</p> <p>At the time of Augustus, there was no city of Venice, and Padua was the chief city of the district which has since come to be known as Venetia. This district occupied the Northeastern section of that country from the Alps on the North and East to the Adriatic Sea, and to the River Po on the West. From the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, after the foundation and the growth of Venice, it developed a considerable commerce with its island domains and became a great maritime power. For many centuries an independent Republic was maintained, governed by a Senate and a Doge, elected by the people; his authority, however, was limited. Constant wars with neighboring peoples and with the Turks did not exhaust the wealth of Venice; and until the Eighteenth Century Venice wielded great influence in European politics. The Republic was unable to withstand the French army, however, and on October 17, 1797, was divided—one half of the territory going to</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

MEDALS OF HONOUR

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Austria and the other half to the Cisalpine Republic; the Ionian Islands went to France. For a thousand years the Venetian Republic maintained its independence, and exhibited a form of government which commanded universal admiration.

ORDER OF SAINT MARK. Probably founded early in the Eighth Century. Giustinian, writing in 1692, states that Domenico Leoni was the first Grand Master of the *Ordine di San Marco* in the year 737. He also lists a number of the Grand Masters from that date to 1688, and gives several authorities. Other writers fix the date of its origin as 828, when the remains of Saint Mark were taken from Alexandria to Venice. No exact information is obtainable as to the discontinuance of the Order, though Ashmole indicates its existence in 1672, as does Clark in 1784.

The insignia is a gold chain to be worn around the neck. From this a gold medalion is suspended. On the obverse is the Arms of Venice—the winged lion of St. Mark, seated with a sword in the right paw,

AND MONOGRAPHS

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	<p>and with the left paw resting on an open book, on which is the motto <i>PAX TIBI MARCE EVANGELISTA MEUS</i> (Peace to thee, Mark, my Evangelist). The reverse is believed to have been plain, although Ashmole asserts that it had the name of the Doge then living as well as a portrait—if that is what may be understood by his words “a particular impress.” This Order was conferred by the Senate or by the Doge, and later was called the Order of the Doge of Venice. On late forms, the insignia was changed to a blue-enamelled cross, on the centre of which was a medallion with the above described Arms. The reverse bore the effigy of the reigning Doge, sometimes represented as on his knees receiving a standard from the hands of St. Mark. All recipients of this Order had to show records of noble birth and were known as the Knights of Saint Mark.</p> <p>MEDAL FOR THE DEFENCE OF VENICE OF 1848. This medal was issued in 1849, during the second year of the short-lived Republic of Saint Mark—as Venice</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

was at that time called. It was of silver and bronze, 27 mm., bearing on the obverse the Arms of the Republic. Around this are the words *INDIPENDENZA ITALIANA*. On the reverse is the cross of St. Maurice surrounded by *VESSILLO DI VITTORIA 1848*. The ribbon is crimson with a narrow gold stripe at each side. (Pl. XXXIII.)

MEDAL FOR BRAVERY. Also issued in 1849. It was of silver and bronze, but 32 mm. in diameter. The obverse has the lion of St. Mark and *GOVERNO PROVVISORIO 1848-49*.

On the reverse, within an oak wreath, are the words *DIFENSORE DI VENEZIA*. The ribbon is red with gold stripes at the sides.

MEDAL FOR THE CIVIL GUARD. Authorized in 1849. It was silver and bronze gilt, oval in form, 40 mm. by 34 mm. On the obverse appear two crossed flags and the words *GUARDIA CIVICA VENETA*. The reverse reads *VV/ L'ITALIA*. The ribbon is yellow.

OBSOLETE ORDERS

The following Orders listed by the several authorities consulted, as having been formed in Italy, have long been discontinued.

Order of the Golden Star of Venice, date not given.

Order of the Golden Stole, date not given.

Order of the Royal Crown of Mantua, was, according to Genouillac, created in 771 by Prince Louis of Gonzaga (son of Witikind, King of Saxony), in honour of his marriage with Adalgise of Lombardy, daughter of Gisulf, duc de Frioul.

Order of the Eagle of Italy. Created February 15, 941, by Hugo II of Gonzaga, to perpetuate the memory of his marriage with Princess Elizabeth of Gonzaga and Lombardy. New statutes were formed for the Order in 968.

Order of Holy Mary, Mother of God. Founded in Italy in 1233. Its creation is attributed to Bartholomew, Bishop of Vincenza. The purpose of its foundation was to quell the discords which arose

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between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines and also to defend and support the Roman Catholic religion. It was approved by Pope Martin IV, who placed the knights under the protection of St. Augustin. It was called by some the "Order of the Brothers of the Jubilation," later the "Order of St. Mary of the Tower," and the "Order of the Chevaliers of the Mother of God."² Archer states that this later Order was founded in 1737. Towards the end of the Sixteenth Century the Order had entirely disappeared.

Order of the Black Swan of Italy, founded in 1350 by Amadeus VI and other Italian Princes, for the purpose of preventing feuds, then so prevalent.

Order of St. George of Genoa. Founded in 1472 by Frederick III of Germany. It was to reward the Genoese for the reception he received during his journey to Rome, where he received the Imperial Crown. The Order was short-lived. The badge is a plain red cross suspended from a gold chain. This Order is not to be confused with the Order of St. George of Austria, founded in 1468 by the Emperor Frederick III.

AND MONOGRAPHS

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	<p><i>Order of St. George of Ravenna.</i> Founded in 1534 by Alexander of Farnese (then Pope Paul III). Its award was confined to those who defended the city and its vicinity from the attack of the Moslems or Corsairs. On the death of its founder it ceased to exist. Cappelletti says it was suppressed by Gregory XIII. The insignia was a red-enamelled star of eight points, over which was a gold ducal crown.</p> <p><i>Order of the Lily.</i> Founded in 1546 by Alexander of Farnese.</p> <p><i>Order of the Lamb of God of Tuscany.</i> Founded in 1568 by John III.</p> <p><i>Order of the Redeemer or of the Precious Blood of our Saviour.</i> Founded in 1608 by Vincent (IV) Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. It was in honour of the marriage of his son Francis with the Princess Marguerite, the daughter of Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy. The Order survived about a century and lapsed in 1708 on the death of Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. An attempt was made to revive it in 1847 but without success. The insignia was an oval medallion, in the centre of which were</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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two angels in adoration. Around this was the motto *NIHIL HOC TRISTE RECEPTO*.

Order of the Conception. Instituted on September 8, 1617, by Ferdinand I of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in honour of the conception of the Virgin and placed under the protection of St. Michael the Archangel. Like many other Orders founded about this time, the members swore allegiance to the Church and agreed to fight against the infidels.

Order of the Virgin or the *Order of the Virgin Mary the Glorious.* Created in Italy by three gentlemen of Spella, named Peter, John the Baptist, and Bernard, surnamed Petrignani. The Order was approved by Pope Paul V in 1618, and placed under the protection of the holy Virgin. The members agreed to defend and uphold the Roman Catholic religion and make war on the infidels. No record has been found of the discontinuance of the order.

Order of Saint Rosalie of Palermo. Founded in 1634 by Alderon de Carreto.

AND MONOGRAPHS

NOTES

¹Charles Albert (1789-1849) was of the line of Savoy-Carignano which was founded by Thomas Francis (1596-1656), son of Charles Emmanuel the Great. Carignano, a town in the province of Turin, was in 1630 bestowed by Charles Emmanuel I upon his son Thomas Francis, who was known as the Prince of Carignano. The present reigning king of Italy is of this house. *Ency. Brit.* Vol. XXI, p. 342 and Vol. 5, p. 105.

²"At this Crescent was fastened as many small Pieces of Gold fashion'd like Columns and enamell'd with Red, as the Knights had been engag'd in Battels and Sieges; for none could be adopted into this Order unless he had well trod the Paths of Honour." Ashmole, E., *Hist. of Order of the Garter*, 1715, p. 69.

³Ashmole, 1672, p. 80. "It was approved and confirmed by Pope Urban IV, anno 1262, and the Rule of St. Dominick prescribed to the Knights."

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 21



ALEXANDER HOARDS

ANDRITSAENA

By EDWARD T. NEWELL

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ALEXANDER HOARDS

III. ANDRITSAENA

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL



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ALEXANDER HOARDS	I
<p><i>Archaeology.</i> <i>Amer. Numismatic Soc.</i> <i>2-19-30</i> <i>21285</i></p> <p>THE ANDRITSAENA HOARD</p> <p>BY EDWARD T. NEWELL</p> <p>This small but interesting hoard is stated to have been found near Andritsaena in the Peloponnesus and was offered for sale by an Athenian antiquity dealer early in March of 1923. How long before this it had been found, we do not know. It was entirely due to the interest and active intervention of Mr. Sydney P. Noe, who chanced to be in Athens at the time, that the Philip and Alexander portion of the find was secured intact, as well as casts of many of the remaining Boeotian, Æginetan, Sicyonian, and Olympian staters.</p> <p>No further particulars concerning the hoard, or the circumstances surrounding its discovery, are at present available. As it had passed through at least two hands before reaching the Athenian dealer, it was found impossible to secure</p>	
NUMISMATIC NOTES	

2	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>any further information. All we can definitely state is that it was certainly found in the Peloponnesus and that all the specimens offered to and secured by the dealer have been seen. Whether the find was originally larger is not definitely known, but the person from whom the dealer acquired his portion is said to have made the vague statement that he believed there were a few more pieces. None, however, were seen in Athens before the end of May, 1923. As the contents of the hoard make a well rounded out whole, it is quite possible that we possess it in its entirety. At any rate, it is well worth publishing.</p> <p>As a whole, the coins in this hoard are exceedingly well preserved. Not only was their original owner apparently very particular with regard to the condition of the pieces which he added to his savings, but time also has dealt kindly with the little treasure entrusted to its not always tender care. When found, the majority of our coins were but slightly oxidized, some not at all. This oxidiza-</p>
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tion has proved easily removable, as has also the fawn-colored earth or clay which originally encrusted all of the coins. With three exceptions, reserved for possible future reference, all of the Philips and Alexanders have now been cleaned. The weights of the Bœotian, Æginetan, Sicyonian, and Olympian staters were not ascertained, but those of the remainder are given below.

PHILIP II OF MACEDON, 359-336 B.C.

MINT OF AMPHIPOLIS.

1 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus to r.

Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Youthful rider wearing fillet and holding palm branch, on horseback to r. Beneath foreleg.

ROSE.

Müller, No. 75. VG. gr. 14.47.

2 TETRADRACHM.

Obv. Similar.

Rev. Similar. Beneath horse, BEE and STERN.

Müller, No. 197. F. gr. 14.32.

3 TETRADRACHM.



Obv. Similar.

A N D M O N O G R A P H S


4	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p><i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath horse, BEE and DOUBLE HEAD. Müller, No. 270¹. F. gr. 14.435. Plate I.</p> <p>4 TETRADRACHM. Similar to the preceding. F. gr. 14.38.</p> <p>5 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath horse, DOUBLE HEAD. Müller, No. 269. VF. gr. 14.535.</p> <p>6 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath foreleg, DOUBLE HEAD. Müller, No. 269. VG. gr. 14.375.</p> <p>7 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath foreleg, STERN. Müller, No. 210. VG. gr. 14.22.</p> <p>MINT OF PELLA.</p> <p>8 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ. The king in kausia and mantle, right hand raised, advancing to l. on horseback. Beneath horse, HM. Müller, No. 297. G. gr. 14.26. Plate I.</p>
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<p>9 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Youthful horseman to r. as on No. 1. Beneath horse, THUNDERBOLT. In exergue, N. Müller, No. 11. VG. gr. 14.33. Plate I.</p> <p>Posthumous issue of <i>circa</i> 325 B.C.</p> <p>10 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar, but of later style. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but of later style. Beneath horse, FLYING BEE. Variety of Müller, No. 191. VF. gr. 14.31. Plate I.</p> <p>ALEXANDER III OF MACEDON, 336–323 B.C.</p> <p>MINT OF AMPHIPOLIS.</p> <p>Group A, <i>circa</i> 336–334 B.C.</p> <p>11–12 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Head of young Heracles to r. <i>Rev.</i> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Zeus ætophor seated to l. on throne. In front, PROW. Müller, No. 503. G. gr. 17.07. F. 17.09.</p> <p>Group B, <i>circa</i> 333 and 332 B.C.</p> <p>13 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Müller, No. 306. F. gr. 17.15.</p>	
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6	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>Group D, <i>circa</i> 330 and 329 B.C.</p> <p>14 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, CLUB and Σ Variety of Müller, No. 138. F. gr. 17.095.</p> <p>15 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, HORSE'S HEAD. Müller, No. 528. VF. gr. 17.145.</p> <p>16 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, DOLPHIN. Müller, No. 539. G. gr. 17.20.</p> <p>Group E, <i>circa</i> 328 and 327 B.C.</p> <p>17 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, HERM. Müller, No. 366. VF. gr. 17.24.</p> <p>18 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, COCK. Müller, No. 392. VF. 16.945.</p> <p>Group F, <i>circa</i> 326 B.C.</p> <p>19 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, BOW and QUIVER. Müller, No. 591. VF. gr. 17.15.</p> <p>Group G, <i>circa</i> 325 B.C.</p> <p>20 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar.</p>
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<p><i>Rev.</i> Similar, but inscription: ΑΛΕΞ- ΑΝΔ—Ρ—ΟΥΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ. In field, CORNUCOPIA. Müller, No. 368. VF. gr. 17.22.</p> <p>Group H, <i>circa</i> 324 and 323 B.C.</p> <p>21-22 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but inscription: ΒΑΣΙ- ΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. In field, PHRYG- IAN CAP. Müller, No. 854. VF. gr. 17.21, 17.16.</p> <p>23 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, TRIPOD. Müller, No. 146. VF. gr. 17.20.</p> <p>Group I, <i>circa</i> 322 and 321 B.C.</p> <p>24 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field,  Müller, No. 860. VF. gr. 17.125. Plate II.</p> <p>25-28 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field,  Müller, No. 863. F. D. C. gr. 17.18, 17.20, 17.22, 17.27.</p> <p>Group J, <i>circa</i> 320 and 319 B.C.</p> <p>29 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, EAR OF BARLEY.</p>	
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8	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>Beneath throne, II. Müller, No. 570. F. D. C. gr. 17.15.</p> <p>30 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, LAUREL SPRIG. Beneath throne, II. Müller, No. 560. F. D. C. gr. 17.10.</p> <p>31 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, CRESCENT (upright). Beneath throne, II. Müller, No. 261. F. D. C. gr. 17.205.</p> <p>32 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, CRESCENT (inverted). Beneath throne, II. Variety of Müller, No. 261. F. D. C. gr. 17.32. Plate II.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MINT OF PELLA. Circa 336–320 B.C.</p> <p>33–35 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar, but of different style. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but of different style. Beneath throne, ☉. Müller, No. 197. VG. to F. gr. 17.12, 17.18, 17.19.</p> <p>36 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar.</p>
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ANDRITSAENA	9
<p><i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field,  Müller, No. 762. F. D. C. gr. 17.32. Plate II.</p> <p>37 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. No symbol. Variety not in Müller. VF. gr. 17.195.</p> <p>38 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath throne, BU- CRANIUM. Müller, No. 98. VF. gr. 17.17. UNCERTAIN MINT IN MACEDONIA OR THESSALY.</p> <p>39-40 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, HELMET. Be- neath throne, AΣ. Müller, No. 1472. F. D. C. gr. 17.14, 17.195. MINT OF PHASELIS OR SIDE.</p> <p>41-53 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Head of fine style to r. <i>Rev.</i> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue. Zeus on high-back throne to l. In field, WREATH. Beneath throne, ΔΙ. Müller, No. 550. F. to F. D. C. gr. 17.00; 17.01; 17.075; 17.10; 17.11; 17.12; 17.14; 17.145; 17.15; 17.16; 17.18; 17.22; 17.25. Plate II.</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	

10	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>54 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath throne, ΔΙ. Müller, No. 216. VF. gr. 17.145.</p> <p>55 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above. In field, ΑΙ. Beneath throne, ΒΣ. Müller, No. 1483. F. D. C. gr. 17.195.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MINT OF TARSUS. Series I, circa 333-327 B.C.</p> <p>56 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Head of young Heracles of east- ern style. <i>Rev.</i> Zeus, of eastern style, :: enthroned to l. Below throne, Α. Newell, Tarsos under Alexander, No. 6. VG. gr. 17.14.</p> <p>57 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath throne, Β. Newell, l. c. No. 10. F. gr. 17.11.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MINT OF SALAMIS. Series I, 332-320 B.C.</p> <p>58 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, ΒΩ.</p>
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<p>Müller, No. 1287. (See also, Newell, Some Cypriote Alexanders, <i>Num. Chron.</i>, 1915, No. 7.) VG. gr. 17.12. Plate III.</p> <p>MINT OF CITIUM. Series I, 332–320 B.C.</p> <p>59 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, $\overline{\kappa}$ Müller, No. 1294. (See also, Newell, <i>l. c.</i> No. 4.) F. gr. 17.045. Plate III.</p> <p>MINT OF MYRIANDRUS. Series II, <i>circa</i> 329 B.C.</p> <p>60 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ in exergue. In field, α Beneath throne, $\overline{\chi}$ Newell, Myriandros—Alexandria kat' Isson, No. 20. F. gr. 16.98.</p> <p>Series III, <i>circa</i> 328–326 B.C.</p> <p>61 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but without the title, and with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Same monograms. Newell, <i>l. c.</i> No. 22. F. gr. 17.035.</p> <p>Series IV, <i>circa</i> 326–323 B.C.</p> <p>62 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar.</p>	
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12	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p><i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, \propto over  Beneath throne,  Newell, l. c. No. 28. VG. (not cleaned), gr. 17.24.</p> <p>MINT OF ARADUS.</p> <p>63 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In exergue, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Beneath throne,  Müller, No. 1360. VF. gr. 17.07.</p> <p>64-66 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, Σ. Beneath throne,  Müller, No. 1364. F. and VF. gr. 17.03; 17.105; 17.195. Plate III.</p> <p>67 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, ΣΩ. Beneath throne,  Müller, No. 1363. F. gr. 17.23.</p> <p>MINT OF BYBLUS. Monogram of King Adramelek.</p> <p>68 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, style early. In field, \mathfrak{A} Müller, No. 1375. G. gr. 17.015.</p>
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A N D R I T S A E N A	13
<p>69-71 TETRADRACHMS. <i>Obv.</i> Similar, but of later style. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but of Müller's style IV. In field, A Müller, No. 1375. F to F. D. C. gr. 17.095 : 17.10 ; 17.19. Plate III.</p> <p>MINT OF AKE. Series I, <i>circa</i> 332-328 B.C.</p> <p>72 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. Beneath throne, M. Newell, The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, No. 2. VG. gr. 17.14. Series III, <i>circa</i> 326-320 B.C.</p> <p>73 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, Ϡ (year 23=<i>circa</i> 323 B.C.). Newell, <i>l. c.</i> No. 18. VF. gr. 17.07. Plate IV.</p> <p>MINT OF BABYLON. Series II, <i>circa</i> 329-326 B.C.</p> <p>74 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Head of Heracles to r., of "Babylonian style." <i>Rev.</i> Zeus enthroned to l. Beneath throne, Ϡ and M. (Symbol origi- nally in the exergue is "off flan.") Müller, No. 670. F. gr. 17.20.</p>	
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14	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>75 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> From same obverse die. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but with back to throne. In field, THUNDERBOLT. Beneath throne,  and M. Müller, No. 679. VG. gr. 17.12.</p> <p>76 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, WREATH. Same monogram and M beneath throne. Variety not in Müller. VF. gr. 17.09.</p> <p>77 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, CANTHARUS. Same monogram and M beneath throne. Variety not in Müller. F. D. C. gr. 17.18.</p> <p>78 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, ROSE. Same monogram and M beneath throne. Variety not in Müller. VF. gr. 17.225.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Series III, circa 326–324 B.C.</p> <p>79 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar. In field, BUNCH OF GRAPES and M. Same monogram be- neath throne. Müller, No. 692. VF. gr. 17.155.</p>
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A N D R I T S A E N A	15
<p>Series IV, circa 323–320 B.C.</p> <p>80 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but of more advanced style (Müller's style IV). In field, M. Beneath throne, AY. Müller, No. 1272. VF. gr. 17.115.</p> <p>81–82 TETRADRACHMS. In name of Philip Arrhidæus (after 323 B.C.). <i>Obv.</i> Similar. <i>Rev.</i> Similar, but inscribed, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. In field, M. Beneath throne, AY. Müller, No. 99. VF. gr. 17.09; 17.115.</p> <p>After 317 B.C.</p> <p>83 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Heracles' head of fine style to r. <i>Rev.</i> Zeus enthroned to l. In exergue, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. In field, ΠΡ in WREATH. Beneath throne, MI. Müller, No. 734. F. D. C. gr. 17.115.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Plate IV.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ANCIENT IMITATION OF THE ALEXANDER COINAGE.</p> <p>84 TETRADRACHM. <i>Obv.</i> Head imitated from Babylonian issues.</p>	
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16	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p><i>Rev.</i> Seated Zeus imitated from Cypriote or Phœnician issues. On r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. On l., ΑΣΒΑ...Α. Not cleaned. VG. gr. 16.52. Plate IV.</p> <p>BÆOTIA. Period 379–338 B.C.</p> <p>85 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Bæotian shield. <i>Rev.</i> Amphora between ΔΙ—Ω. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> p. 82. No. 134. Somewhat worn.</p> <p>86 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Bæotian shield. <i>Rev.</i> Amphora between ΚΑ—ΒΙ. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> p. 83. No. 150. Somewhat worn. Plate V.</p> <p>Period 338–335 or later.</p> <p>87 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Bæotian shield. <i>Rev.</i> Amphora between ΒΟ—ΙΩ. BUNCH OF GRAPES above. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> p. 36. No. 42. Somewhat worn. Plate V.</p> <p>ÆGINA. Period 550–456 B.C.</p> <p>88–97² STATERS. <i>Obv.</i> Sea-turtle. <i>Rev.</i> Incuse square divided by bands</p>
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<p>into a conventional pattern of five compartments. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> Pl. xxiv, Nos. 1, 2. All very much worn.</p> <p>Period 404–350 B.C., or later.</p> <p>98–105 STATERS. <i>Obv.</i> Land-tortoise (<i>testudo græca</i>). <i>Rev.</i> Incuse square divided by bands into a conventional pattern of five compartments. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> Pl. xxiv, Nos. 10–12. F.-VF. Plate V.</p> <p>At least three and probably more of these eight staters, all in the finest condition, were of the later type with narrow bands, spread fabric, and tortoise of later style.</p> <p>SICYON. Period 400–300 B.C.</p> <p>106 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Chimæra to l. Beneath, ΣE. <i>Rev.</i> Dove flying to l. in wreath. <i>Brit. Mus. Cat.</i> Pl. vii. No. 17. Somewhat worn.</p> <p>107 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Chimæra to r. Beneath, ΣI. <i>Rev.</i> Dove flying to r. in wreath. Somewhat worn. Plate V.</p>	
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18	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>ELIS (OLYMPIA). Period 421-365 B.C.</p> <p>108 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> On boss of a round shield, eagle to l. devouring serpent. <i>Rev.</i> Thunderbolt between F—A. Seltman, Nos. 162-6 (die BV). Much worn and covered with punchmarks.</p> <p>Period 343-323 B.C.</p> <p>109 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Laureate head of Zeus to r. <i>Rev.</i> Eagle standing to r. on Ionic capital. In field, THUNDERBOLT and SERPENT. Seltman, Nos. 207-12 (die CT). Somewhat worn.</p> <p>Period 363-323 B.C., or later.</p> <p>110 STATER. <i>Obv.</i> Head of Hera to r. wearing stephanos inscribed FAΛEION. In field, F (A). <i>Rev.</i> Eagle standing to l., head to r. and wings spread. The whole in olive wreath. Seltman, No. 344 (dies FG-ψ). VF. Plate V.</p> <p>One of the principal reasons impelling the writer to publish this little find (be-</p>
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fore other more important ones) is that, small though it is, it furnishes a very typical specimen of the kind of hoards buried in Hellas during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. The usual contents of such deposits may be summarized briefly as follows: a large proportion of Alexander's tetradrachms in which Macedonian issues predominate; a smaller but not at all negligible number of the issues (both contemporaneous and posthumous) of Philip II; and, finally, a scattering number of such local and autonomous issues as were still being struck in the larger cities or were still generally current—though their original mints had been closed. Furthermore, from the standpoint of the Alexander series, the Andritsaena hoard is interesting as representing the Greek counterpart, in everything but size, of the great Egyptian find of Demanhur. With one important exception all of its varieties are to be found in the Demanhur deposit. And this one exception, No. 83, enables us to place the probable burial date of

20	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>the Andritsaena hoard within rather narrow limits.</p> <p>It is to be noticed that not one of our Alexander coins was struck after the death of Philip Arrhidæus, excepting only No. 83. Now this piece represents the first issue immediately following the series current in Babylon at the time of his death.³ With them this coin is closely bound by great similarity of detail, style, and fabric. As these very soon change, it must have been struck early in the course of the new issue. It cannot therefore have appeared much after the commencement of 316 B.C., for Philip was assassinated early in November of 317 B.C.⁴ This hoard cannot, then, have been buried earlier than the year 316. As this particular Babylonian coin is in such perfect condition it could have seen but little, if any, circulation. In our calculations, however, we must allow a certain time for its long journey from the plains of Babylonia to the mountains of the western Peloponnesus. This will of necessity bring us to the end of 316, or</p>
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<p>even well into the year 315 B.C. as the only possible date at which the Andritsaena hoard could have been buried. The total absence of so many very common coins struck in the last years of Philip Arrhidæus or in the first years of Alexander IV forbids setting the burial at a later date. This is further corroborated by the uniformly brilliant condition exhibited by all the coins in the hoard which date after about 320 B.C. Thus, on the sole evidence of the coins in this find, we seem amply justified in fixing on the year 315 B.C. as the probable time at which they were buried.</p> <p>And this date would seem to fit in remarkably well with certain political events which took place in the Peloponnesus at this time, and which might have induced the former owner of our hoard to consign it to Mother Earth. We know that after the successful conclusion of Antigonos' campaigns against Eumenes in the east, he moved his army from Babylon to Cilicia, where he went into winter quarters. This was</p>	
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22	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>in the late autumn of 316 B.C. At this time he found himself threatened by a powerful coalition of the remaining satraps, Cassander of Macedon, Lysimachus of Thrace, Assander of Caria, and Ptolemy of Egypt. To hold Cassander in check while he settled with the remainder, Antigonus now sent his trusted friend, Aristodemus of Miletus, with one thousand talents to the Peloponnesus with instructions to raise an army of mercenaries and, especially, to win Polysperchon for his cause. The latter had, since 318 B.C., been waging desperate warfare against Cassander, and now found himself in the possession of a large portion of the Peloponnesus. By the beginning of 315 B.C., Aristodemus had accomplished all his objects and, together with Polysperchon, was at the head of a considerable army.</p> <p>In the meanwhile Apollonides, Cassander's general stationed in Argos, had been able to hold his own until his master's arrival, and even to seize the town of Stymphalus. Having recruited a</p>
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<p>fresh army in Macedonia, Cassander, in the spring of 315 B.C., marched south through Thessaly and Bœotia, secured Corinth's harbor Kenchreæ,⁵ and pushed on into Arcadia. He seized Orchomenus and staged an ambitious raid over into Messenia. As, however, he found the city of Messene too strongly held by Polysperchon to warrant an attempt at assault, he returned to Arcadia. Leaving Damis as military commander of the district, Cassander went to Argos and celebrated here the Nemean Games. These are reckoned by Droysen⁶ to have been held in the first year of the 116th Olympiad, or August of 315 B.C. Soon after he returned with his army to Macedonia, Cassander's opponents, immediately improving upon this opportunity, again overran all the Peloponnesus, chased the garrisons from town after town, and soon were in undisturbed possession of practically all of the peninsula.</p> <p>Thus ended the campaign of 315 B.C. Although the fighting was resumed with the spring of 314, it was principally con-</p>	
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	<p> finned to northwestern Elis (about Kylene) and to the province of Achaia, leaving the district about modern Andritsaena quite untouched. This state of affairs, so far as we can gather from our ancient sources, also held true for the ensuing years. In other words, it would appear that only in 315 B.C. was the country, within a radius of twenty miles of Andritsaena, disturbed by actually contending armies so that life and property would not be safe.⁷ At that time the hills about Andritsaena lay but a little to one side of Cassander's direct route from Orchomenus to Messene. He would probably at least have sent raiding parties into the hills during his advance southwards, if only to protect his flank, as well as his line of supplies and retreat, against any sudden attack. Cassander's campaign appears to have been merely a <i>tour de force</i>, in the course of which he held only the places actually occupied by his soldiers. All the remaining portions of the Peloponnesus and all but a few of the large cities (such </p>
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<p>as Argos, Stymphalus, Orchomenus, and possibly Epidauros) were in the hands of Polysperchon, his son, Alexander, Aristodemus, and their allies. The latter, however, did not once dare to meet Cassander's veteran forces in open battle, but contented themselves with holding the walled cities, and undoubtedly the mountains to either side of his advancing forces. Guerilla warfare was apparently the order of the day.</p> <p>No wonder then that in such troublous times, and well within the zone of active operations, the former owner of our hoard decided to place his savings in as safe a place as possible. Why he was never able to remove them later is, of course, open to many conjectures. To attempt a solution would be futile.</p> <p>With the sole exception of No. 83, the Philip and Alexander coins in the Andritsaena hoard call for but little comment. The issues of Amphipolis, the largest of all the Alexander mints, outnumber those of any other one mint, as is only natural for a hoard found in a</p>	
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	<p>country enjoying close and constant communications with Macedonia. This was even the case with such a distant hoard as that of Demanhur (q. v.). On the other hand it is interesting to observe that, if taken together, the Asiatic Alexander issues by far outnumber (43 as against 30) the European-ones. This is not usually the case with hoards found in Europe and dating from the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁸ In this case, however, there may be an easy solution. It will be remembered that in 316 B.C., or just the year before the probable burial date of our hoard, Aristodemus was sent by Antigonus to the Peloponnesus with a thousand talents with which to raise troops.⁹ Again, early in 315 B.C., Diodorus states¹⁰ that Polysperchon's son, Alexander, returned from a short visit to Antigonus in Cilicia with a further sum of five hundred talents. These huge sums were undoubtedly in the form of coined money. There were no facilities in the southern Peloponnesus to convert so much bullion into</p>
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ready money, and the all-important time was lacking. It would obviously have been far more expedient for Antigonos merely to turn over already coined money furnished him by the many active mints at his command in the east. Furthermore, we may gather from Diodorus¹¹ that his recent successful campaigns in the east had been most lucrative.

Antigonos at this time was assembling a great army in Cilicia for the coming expedition against Syria and Egypt. For this purpose he had probably seen to it that the satrapal coffers should be well filled with the "sinews of war" in an immediately available form. Any coins Aristodemus, and later, Alexander, had brought with them from Asia would soon be certain to find their way throughout the length and breadth of the southern Peloponnesus. The newly hired soldiers would be only too ready to spend the first instalments of their pay. Their commanders, because of political conditions, had only the immediately surrounding countryside from which to draw their

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	<p>supplies. These would probably not be <i>all</i> commandeered. In a poor country like this, Polysperchon and his allies had to depend too much upon the good-will of the inhabitants—ever ready to welcome a change—to risk not paying for at least <i>some</i> of the supplies requisitioned for the support of their armies. Thus, very soon, probably a considerable number of Alexander coins from eastern mints was in circulation among the people of Messenia, Laconia, southern Elis, and southern Arcadia. It is possible, also, that many of the earlier eastern issues had already found their way to the Peloponnesus (as to the rest of Hellas) in the hands of returning veterans from Alexander's armies.</p> <p>Provided that we really have the entire find before us, it is curious, to say the least, to note the entire absence of any of those Alexandrine issues which were first assigned to a mint at Sicyon by M. Babelon.¹² The very same phenomenon is also observable in the Kyparrissia hoard.¹³ Of course, in such small</p>
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hoards chance must needs play a very large part and too much stress must not be laid upon the absence of any one variety, particularly if it be at all scarce.

To the best of the writer's knowledge the Andritsaena hoard, in point of date, is the earliest (of which we have record) in which posthumous issues of Philip II (No. 10, Plate I) make an appearance. Later these coins become quite common, as in the Megara, Lamia, and other Grecian hoards which it is hoped will be published eventually.

As shown above by the catalogue, included in this find was also an ancient forgery of the Alexander tetradrachm (No. 84, Plate IV). The nature of the coin is indicated by its blundered legends, the dryness of the style, and the fact that its obverse is imitated from genuine Babylonian issues, while its reverse copies certain early Phœnician or Cypriote Alexanders. Furthermore, it is the only coin in the hoard which, in addition to the purple oxide and yellowish dirt which it bears in common with

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30	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>the remaining coins of the find, is also encrusted with thick patches of verdigris. This is a phenomenon frequently observed by the writer in certain hoards which have contained both ancient forgeries and genuine issues. Almost invariably these imitations of the period will be encrusted with spots of verdigris not shown by any of the genuine pieces. This is undoubtedly due to the poorer quality of the silver of which the forgeries are made, the larger amount of copper in their alloy brought to the surface by decomposition, and other chemical changes which have taken place during the long period in which they have lain buried underground. The accompanying genuine coins, having but little, if any, copper in the composition of their metal, will only show the usual forms of decomposition customary for pure silver.</p> <p>In view of the Peloponnesian origin of our find, it is but natural that coins of Ægina, Sicyon, and Elis should have formed the greater portion of the auton-</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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omous coinages which it contained. It is noticeable, as was also the case with the Kyparissia hoard, that Athenian tetradrachms and Corinthian staters are both absent. The Bœotian, Sicyonian, and Olympian issues call for no special remarks. They are precisely what one would have expected to occur in a hoard of this date and place.

The Æginetan staters, Nos. 98-105, on the other hand, would seem to raise a question of dating. It will be noticed that they are of the *Testudo Græca* (land-tortoise) type and belong to the anepigraphic series, now assigned by scholars to the years immediately following the Æginetan restoration of 404 B.C.¹⁴ At least three in our find are of the late, spread-fabric type with thin (instead of thick) bands dividing the incuse of their reverses. All the specimens are in fine condition and could have seen but little circulation. On the other hand, not one of the inscribed varieties, bearing A, AI, AII, or AIII, turned up. These are supposed to have been struck during the

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	<p>years immediately preceding 348 B.C. It is curious that these should be missing when the supposedly much earlier series was present not only in goodly numbers but also in such fine condition. It would seem as if the latter (the uninscribed, thin-banded, and spread-fabric type) had been struck but recently, and not at the very commencement of the century.</p> <p>The writer might not have paid any particular attention to this curious anomaly—in hoards so much is due to mere chance—had it not been for the consideration that another little hoard (or portion of a hoard), brought to his attention in 1921, presented the very same feature. That lot consisted of six Philip II tetradrachms (Müller, Nos. 158, 252, 263, two specimens of 269, 270); fourteen Alexander tetradrachms (Müller, Nos. 3, 216, 392, two specimens of 550, var. of 567, 684, 697, var. 704, 853, 860, var. 1302, var. 1342, 1473); and three Æginetan staters in <i>fine</i> condition and all of the 404–350 B.C. type occurring in the Andritsaena find. Here, too, in-</p>
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scribed Æginetan staters are noticeable by their absence.

The reader will forgive a slight digression to allow the discussion of this second "find." A selection of four typical specimens is given on Plate VI. The coins themselves were shown to the writer in November, 1921, by Mr. A. H. Baldwin of London. According to the latter's statement, there could be no question but that these twenty-three coins had really been found together. When first offered for sale they had all been covered with an identical type of patina which, as was also the case with the Andritsaena coins, proved easily removable, so that the coins to-day have almost the appearance of having been freshly minted. Mr. Baldwin further stated that the lot had been brought in to him but a short time before by a Greek, a native of the little Peloponnesian city of "Taipoli" (undoubtedly Tripolis, also known as Tripolitsa), who informed him that the coins had only recently been found "in that neighborhood."

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	<p>The astonishing similarity in content of this "Tripolitsa" find with what has come to us of the Andritsaena hoard is at once manifest and at least suggests the possibility of a common origin. The Alexander issues in both cover exactly the same general period and show the same proportion of European to Asiatic issues. As against the 30 European and 43 Asiatic Alexanders of the Andritsaena lot, compare the 5 European and 7 Asiatic in the "Tripolitsa"—the proportion is practically identical. Both hoards contained, in addition, a proportionate number of Philip's coins and Æginetan staters. The average condition of wear exhibited by the coins in the two lots is also absolutely identical. Furthermore, Tripolitsa, one of the largest towns in the Peloponnesus and the <i>chef lieu</i> of Arcadia, is more or less directly connected with Andritsaena by carriage road via Megalopolis and Karytaena, so that it would not be so very surprising for coins found in the neighborhood of Andritsaena to turn up in</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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<p>Tripolitsa. It is curious, of course, but not entirely without precedent, that so long a time should have elapsed between the appearance on the market of the two lots. In February of 1922, the writer visited Athens and made many inquiries concerning a possible hoard of Alexander's coins supposedly recently found in the Peloponnesus. On the last day of his stay in Athens a certain dealer¹⁵ came to him stating that he had just received word concerning a lot of about a hundred Alexanders from a recent find—but the writer could not ascertain where the find had been made, nor could he delay his departure for the somewhat remote possibility of eventually being able to secure the "find." Whether this lot had anything to do with the Andritsaena pieces which arrived in Athens a year later, is certainly not at present susceptible of proof. So much for the "Tripolitsa" find. For the time-being nothing more definite can be said concerning its origin, but in studying the Andritsaena hoard we must not lose sight of the cir-</p>	
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36	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p>cumstance that the "Tripolitsa" lot may also originally have belonged to it.</p> <p>The apparent absence of any inscribed Æginetan staters in the two lots described above is brought into yet stronger relief by a large hoard of an entirely different character. The writer refers to the great hoard of 1596 Bœotian, Sicyonian, and Æginetan coins found in 1914 in Thessaly and now in the Athens National Collection.¹⁶ This remarkable find contained 1078 Bœotian staters from the earliest periods right down to, and including, coins of the period 338–315 B.C. Because of the comparatively large number of this latter class contained in the find, it must have been buried well after the year 338 B.C. Of the accompanying 325 Æginetan staters, 234 bore the sea-turtle as type, and so belong to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The remaining 90 specimens have the land-tortoise (<i>testudo græca</i>) and belong to the fourth century. Again it is to be noted that they include not a single specimen of the type bearing the inscrip-</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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<p>tions A, AI, AIF, or AIFI. This fact is all the more noteworthy as the find was a large one, and thus the element of chance is almost entirely eliminated. Can it be that the minting of silver staters at Ægina did not really come to an end with the year 348 B.C.,¹⁷ but was again undertaken at a slightly later date and under the ægis of Macedon?</p> <p>Any detailed discussion, or any tentative rearrangement of the Æginetan series, would be out of place here. That must be left for others to accomplish. Leaving aside the moot question of the real date of the inscribed Æginetan staters, the little Andritsaena hoard has at least sustained the assignment by Fox of the land-tortoise type to the fourth century.</p>	
A N D M O N O G R A P H S	

38	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	<p style="text-align: center;">. NOTES</p> <p>¹ Müller, in describing this coin which is in the Paris collection, has mistaken the BEE symbol for a "lambda."</p> <p>² None of these ten coins were actually seen by Mr. Noe, and they have been included only on the strength of a statement made by one of the Athenian coin dealers who saw the hoard before its dispersal. There is no adequate reason why they might not have been contained in the hoard.</p> <p>³ At the time the news of Philip's death was received in Babylon, the coins represented by Müller's numbers 116, 117 (in name of Philip III) and 1542, 1543 (in name of Alexander IV) were being struck. This conclusion has been reached by the writer in a study of the mint at Babylon which he hopes soon to publish. Unfortunately, we here cannot go into this matter in greater detail.</p> <p>⁴ Droysen, <i>Geschichte des Hellenismus</i>, II, 1, p. 241, note 1.</p> <p>⁵ At this time held by Polysperchon's son, Alexander.</p> <p>⁶ Droysen, <i>l. c.</i> III, 2, p. 37.</p> <p>⁷ It must be remembered that, because of the character of its contents, the hoard could not possibly have been buried <i>previous</i> to the commencement of 316 B.C. Therefore Polysperchon's campaign against Megalopolis in 318 B.C. and Cassander's attacks on Tegea in 317 B.C. need not be taken into account. In 316 B.C. Cassander did indeed invade the Peloponnesus and seize Argos. Messene and other cities of the peninsula were "freed," or voluntarily sided with him. So far as</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

our sources would seem to show, however, the forces never came to any actual fighting, for the power of Polysperchon in the Peloponnesus at this time was comparatively weak.

⁸ For instance, in the Kyparissia hoard (q. v.) there were 15 European Alexanders, as against only 5 Asiatic. Also in the Lamia hoard (in the Athens National Collection) we have 18 European to 11 Asiatic Alexanders. The Messene hoard, which the writer hopes soon to publish, represents a special and very interesting case. Here, namely, there turned up 30 Asiatic and only one European Alexander!

⁹ Diodorus, XIX, 57, 5.

¹⁰ XIX, 61, 5.

¹¹ XIX, 56, 2 and 5; XIX, 57, 1, where we also learn that the other satraps were only too anxious to divide the spoils.

¹² *Revue Numismatique*, 1904, pp. 117-133.

¹³ One, however, occurred in the Epidaurus hoard, *Ephemeris*, 1903, pp. 98-116.

¹⁴ Earle Fox in *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 34-46. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd Ed., p. 397. Head, in the first edition of the *Historia* and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Attica*, etc., had previously assigned these coins to the impossible date 480-456 B.C. Curiously enough, Babelon has recently followed him in this (*Traité*, II^e, pp. 155-158).

¹⁵ Not the same dealer from whom the Andritsaena pieces were eventually acquired.

¹⁶ Published by J. N. Svoronos, in *Arch. Deltion*, Vol. II, pp. 273-335.

¹⁷ As both Head and Babelon believe.

ANDRITSAENA

PLATE I



— 3 —



8



9



9



— 10 —



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE II



— 24 —



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— 41 —



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE III



— 59 —



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64



64



— 69 —



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE IV



73



83



84



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE V



— 86 —



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98



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110



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE III



— 59 —



58



64



64



— 69 —



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE IV



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ANDRITSAENA

PLATE V



— 86 —



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ANDRITSAENA

PLATE VI



ANDRITSAENA

PLATE V



— 86 —



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ANDRITSAENA

PLATE VI



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.N9

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 22



A HOARD FROM SIDÉ

By C. T. SELTMAN

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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A HOARD FROM SIDE

By C. T. SELTMAN

In the autumn of 1922 a small hoard of coins, mainly of the fifth century B.C., was brought to Greece by a refugee from Eski-Adalia—the ancient Side—close to which place the man declared it had been found. He stated that the complete hoard had comprised 26 silver pieces as well as a gold and carbuncle bracelet of Cypriote type [Fig. 1]. The latter I was able to study in Athens along with 18 of the silver pieces, which were all marked by the same type of patination characterized by a considerable deposit of iron oxide. The hoard had evidently been buried in some iron receptacle. This uniform oxidization makes it clear that the silver, at any rate, is all from the same small find.

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· 2	SIDE HOARD
	<p>The following list includes all the pieces which I have been able to examine personally. The eight coins which I did not see were, I was informed, duplicates of Nos. 6, 7 and 9 described below.</p> <p>ATHENS. BEFORE B.C. 407.</p> <p>1 TETRADRACHM. Head of Athena of archaistic style to r. in high relief; upon her helmet three olive-leaves and a floral scroll, her hair in bands across her temples; necklace with pendant pearls, large Ⓞ earring. <i>Rev.</i> AⓄE to r. downwards: owl r., head facing; behind, twig with olive and two leaves, and small decrescent moon: incuse square. a. Theophiles, Athens: 17.24 g (266 grains). Plate I</p> <p>CORINTH. BEFORE B.C. 480.</p> <p>2 STATER. Ⓞ below: Pegasus, bridled and with curled wing, to r.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

SIDE HOARD

3

Rev. Head of Athena to r. of archaic style wearing Corinthian helmet, hair in queue: incuse square.

a. Theophiles, Athens: 8.62 g. (133 grains).
Plate I

SIDE.

FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

3 STATER.

Pomegranate in high relief, stalk curved to l.; to r. of it γ [?]: guilloche border.

Rev. Head of Athena to r.; of archaic style wearing Corinthian helmet, hair in queue: incuse square.

a. Jameson, Paris: 10.89 g. (168 grains).
Plate I

4 STATER.

Similar: no trace of a letter: guilloche border.

Rev. Similar; head smaller, the helmet tipped back: incuse square.

a. Petsalis, Athens: 10.92 g. (168.5 grains).
Plate I

5 STATER.

Similar: traces of guilloche border.

Rev. Head of Athena r. in crested

AND MONOGRAPHS

4	SIDE HOARD
	<p>Corinthian helmet, hair in curls at back of neck: incuse square.</p> <p>a. Petsalis, Athens: 10.89 g. (168 grains). Plate I</p> <p>b. Theophiles, Athens: 10.95 g. (169 grains). On both specimens a large flaw on the obv. to r. of the fruit. From the same pair of dies is the coin in <i>B.M.C. Lycia, etc.</i>, p. 144, 8, Pl. xxvi, 1, struck before the flaw developed. From the same obv. die is the coin in Babelon, <i>Traité</i> No. 874, Pl. xxiv, 4 (Paris).</p> <p>6 STATER.</p> <p>Pomegranate, stalk curved to l.; to l. of the fruit Ψ Ψ [Ψ]: border of dots. <i>Rev.</i> Similar; the helmet larger, the crest with two tails; the head smaller, eyelashes indicated, hair short, necklace with pendant pearls; in front above, twig with olive and two leaves: incuse square.</p> <p>a. Seltman, Cambridge: 10.43 g. (161 grains). Plate II</p> <p>b. Petsalis, Athens: 10.69 g. (165 grains). Plate II</p> <p>c. Seltman, Cambridge: 10.61 g. (163.7 grains).</p> <p>7 STATER.</p> <p>Same die as last.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Similar; crest with one tail; the head large and in higher relief, hair</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

SIDE HOARD	5
<p>in short curls, truncation of neck meets lower border of square: in front above, twig with olive and four leaves: incuse square.</p> <p>a. Petsalis, Athens: 10.90 g. (168.2 grains). Plate II</p> <p>b. Theophiles, Athens: 10.69 g. (165 grains). c. Theophiles, Athens: 10.66 g. (164.5 grains). d. Theophiles, Athens: 10.69 g. (165 grains). e. Comte de Nanteuil, Paris: 10.96 g. (169.2 grains). Plate II</p> <p>Countermark on obv. above a four-legged animal [?] to l., (cf. the countermarks on coins of Nagidos and Side, Babelon, <i>Traité</i>, Pl. cxli, 12, 16; Pl. cxlii, 21).</p> <p>It is almost certain that the three following staters are a part of the hoard:</p> <p>f. Cat. Naville v (Lucerne, 1923), Pl. lxxiv, 2707: 10.80 g. (166.7 grains). g. <i>ibid.</i> 2708: 10.59 g. (163.5 grains). h. <i>ibid.</i> 2709: 10.82 g. (167 grains).</p> <p>From the same pair of dies are the coins in <i>B. M. C. Lycia, etc.</i>, p. 144, 7; Pl. xxv, 11; and in Babelon, <i>Traité</i> No. 883, Pl. xxiv, 9 (Paris); and in the Cat. Philipsen Coll. (Hirsch Cat. xxv, Munich, 1909), Pl. xxx, 2634.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ASPENDOS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">END OF FIFTH CENTURY B.C.</p> <p>8 STATER.</p> <p>Two wrestlers: the one to the r. grips his opponent by the neck and l. thigh:</p>	
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6	SIDE HOARD
	<p>the other grips the first by the l. arm and by a belt which the right-hand man wears: exergual line: border of dots.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> [E]ΣΤFE to l. downwards: <i>nude</i> slinger discharging sling to r.: in field triskeles of human legs turning to l.: dotted square within incuse square.</p> <p>a. Peterson, St. Andrews: 10.92 g. (168.5 grains). Plate III</p> <p>9 STATER.</p> <p>Similar, but each grasps at the other's belt: no exergual line: border of dots. <i>Rev.</i> Slinger looking up and discharging sling to r.; he wears short chiton: triskeles as before: dotted square within incuse square.</p> <p>a. Peterson, St. Andrews: 11.08 g. (171 grains). Plate III</p> <p>CITIUM.</p> <p>BA'ALRAM, CIRCA B.C. 400-392.</p> <p>10 STATER.</p> <p>Heracles, wearing lion's skin over head and hanging down back, tail curling up behind, advancing to r.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

SIDE HOARD	7
<p>brandishing club behind his head: border of dots. <i>Rev.</i> 𐀀𐀚[𐀙𐀚𐀙𐀚] above; lion r. bringing down stag which kneels r.: square of small dots within incuse square. a. Petsalis, Athens: 11.01 g. (170 grains). Overstruck on an Æginetan stater of <i>circa</i> B.C. 404. On <i>rev.</i>; to the l. of the flan appears the head of the tortoise, its r. hind foot above the nose of the stag. In front of Heracles, traces of the Æginetan incuse square. Plate III</p> <p>SILVER FINGER-RING.</p> <p>11 WEIGHT OF A REDUCED ÆGINETAN STATER. Outer diameter 2.5 mm. Each extremity ending in a lion's head, the one overlapping the other. Cypriote fabric. Peterson, St. Andrews: 11.79 g. (182 grains). Plate III</p> <p>GOLD AND CARBUNCLE BRACELET.</p> <p>12 ELEVEN CARBUNCLE BEADS of astragaloid shape joined by links of gold wire: at one end a golden lion's head.</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	

8	SIDE HOARD
	<div data-bbox="602 478 1260 1115" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="878 1178 984 1220" data-label="Caption"> <p>Fig. 1</p> </div> <div data-bbox="565 1241 1308 1388" data-label="Text"> <p>This hoard presents several points of interest which appear to make it worthy of publication.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="565 1388 1308 1671" data-label="Text"> <p>As regards its composition, sixteen pieces certainly—twenty-four, according to the report of the refugee—come from the southern Anatolian region and Cyprus, while two are issued by states of Greece Proper. The Athenian tetra-</p> </div>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

SIDE HOARD

9

drachm (No. 1) is an admirably preserved piece—well struck, but made from coarsely engraved dies—which is in all probability to be assigned to the period between B.C. 412 and 405.¹

Earlier in date—indeed the earliest coin in the hoard—is the Corinthian stater (No. 2) which betrays all the characteristics of real archaism, including that of the full almond-shaped eye. Sir Charles Oman has shown² that coins of a style slightly later than this piece are to be placed immediately after the Persian Wars, whence it would seem that this coin must be dated between 500 and 480 B.C. The obverse die closely resembles another from which was struck a stater in the British Museum,³ the latter stater obviously being a contemporary coin. Its presence in the company of the Sidetan pieces is of interest as showing that this Corinthian stater, and others like it, served as prototypes for the coins of Side with the head of Athena.

Of the history of Side before the con-

AND MONOGRAPHS

10	SIDE HOARD
	<p>quests of Alexander we know next to nothing. Arrian⁴ relates that the city was the earliest colony of Cyme in Æolis, and that the Sidetans had forgotten their own Greek language and formed a peculiar speech of their own differing from their neighbors' tongue. A fourth-century Greek inscription found on the site,⁵ however, proves this statement to be an exaggeration, though the fourth-century coins of Side show that the Phœnician alphabet and a dialect akin to Aramaic were more popular in the city than was Greek. For on the coins we find a legend which Six⁶ has read as 143 ΣΥΝΥΛΑ [= "Αδωνι Σ(ι)δ(ή)τ(ου)], or "Lord of Side," placed beside the figure of Apollo. On these same coins a statue of Athena appears upon the obverse, and beside her the pomegranate (σίδη)—the city's coat-of-arms. The cults of these two deities which predominated in Side are perhaps significant of the amalgamation of an Anatolian-Hittite with an Hellenic population. If so, the god</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

SIDE HOARD

11

represented in the guise of Apollo is akin on the one hand to the Lycian deity, and on the other hand to the Anatolian Attis-Adonis; while Athena is the goddess of the Greek-Æolic element in the city.

It is worthy of note that on the sixth-century coins of Side there appear the dolphins sacred to the god.⁷ In the early fifth century the head of Apollo at first occupies the reverse of the coins,⁸ to be succeeded shortly by the head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet.⁹ To the second half of the fifth century belong the coins from the present hoard, as well as others related to them, all bearing a head of Athena wearing a helmet of Corinthian shape; while in the fourth century, as we have seen, Athena and Apollo are given equal honour, each deity appearing on either side of the coins.

Our main concern must, however, be with the Sidetan coins on the reverses of which appears the head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet—a type

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12	SIDE HOARD
	<p>derived from the coinage of Corinth, as is proved by Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the hoard under discussion. We are accustomed to associate the Corinthian money with the western rather than with the eastern trade-routes; especially since it is probably found in larger quantities in Italy and Sicily than in Greece Proper. Side, however, appears to have had a considerable amount of trade with the west; for not only are the heads on Nos. 3 and 4 copies of those on Corinthian coins, but the guilloche border, which on the obverse surrounds the pomegranate, seems to be adopted from even more westerly prototypes, namely, from the issues of Magna Græcian cities and notably from that of Tarentum.¹⁰ In view of the fact that the facing head of Arethusa by the Syracusan Kimon was copied closely on the coins which Pharnabazus struck in Cilicia, this need occasion no surprise.</p> <p>On No. 5, of which a better specimen exists in the British Museum,¹¹ the guilloche border still appears; but the</p>
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<p>reverse design has departed from its Corinthian prototype, for the helmet is now decorated with a crest. This decoration is likewise found upon the broad pieces of subsequent issue (Nos. 6, 7), which have a further addition to the type in the shape of a twig of olive. On the obverses of these coins—all struck from a single anvil die—a circle of dots has replaced the guilloche border. This die is represented by eleven specimens in the hoard, as well as by three other specimens which are noted above. On all these examples there appear to the left of the pomegranate certain lines which resemble the letters $\Psi\Upsilon$ ($\Sigma\delta$), while on No. 3 of our hoard the letter Υ (Σ) seems visible, touching the right “shoulder” of the fruit.</p> <p>Now, we have already seen that on the fourth-century staters of Side the letters $\Upsilon\delta$—of which the fifth-century equivalents would be Υ—appear regularly in the ethnic. Hence, it is probable that Ψ and $\Psi\Upsilon$ stand for the Greek Σ and $\Sigma\Delta$, initials of the first or two first</p>	
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14	S I D E H O A R D
	<p>syllables of the Sidetan name. The two characters are, of course, placed in the wrong order upon the later die, in which respect the legend would be at variance with the normal Phœnician or Aramaic practice. But a mixed population, which, as Six has shown,¹² inserted a Greek Ω and Υ into an Aramaic alphabet, would not be too scrupulous about a retrograde legend.</p> <p>Before passing on to the remainder of the hoard it may be worth summarizing such of the Sidetan staters with the head of Athena in a Corinthian helmet as have come under my notice, since the specimens in this find seem to elucidate their sequence:—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NO CREST.</p> <p>i. Side hoard No. 3. ii. British Museum, formerly Sir H. Weber Coll. <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1920. Pl xiv, 12. iii. Side hoard No. 4.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CREST ON HELMET.</p> <p>iv. <i>B. M. C. Lycia, etc.</i>, Pl. xxvi 1. v. Side hoard No. 5 (same dies as iv).</p>
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- vi. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. xxiv, 4 (same anvil die as iv and v).
- vii. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. xxiv, 7. Guilloche border still present, but flan broader.
- viii. Cat. R. Jameson Coll., Pl. lxxix, 1593= well-known Amateur (Warren) Sale, 197=Benson Sale, 732.
- ix. Side hoard No. 6.
- x. Side hoard No. 7 and three other specimens cited.
- xi. Cat. Hirsch xxxi (Munich, 1912), Pl. xiii, 479: apparently a semi-barbarous imitation of x.

Two staters of Aspendos formed part of the hoard, and of these the first (No. 8) would seem to be the prototype of the very abundant coinage which covers most of the fourth, and possibly a part of the third, century. On this piece the wrestlers are depicted with a rendering which is far superior to that of any of the Aspendian pieces hitherto published;¹⁸ particularly noticeable is the admirable treatment of their muscles. The reverse of the coin differs from all recorded specimens in that it shows a nude slinger instead of the usual figure wearing a short chiton. Epigraphically the coin is linked with the earliest specimen of the series which the British

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16	SIDE HOARD
	<p>Museum possesses, for our coin has the legend ΕΣΤΦΕ, which reappears, written from right to left upon the piece in the National Collection.¹⁴</p> <p>The other Aspendian stater (No. 9) differs only in minor details from the coin just referred to in the British Museum.</p> <p>From the composition of this hoard, it would appear that this type may have originated in Aspendos shortly before 400 B.C.—the earliest date usually assigned to these coins. In confirmation of this we may note that several coins of Side which were issued in the early years of the fourth century are overstruck upon coins of Aspendos with the “slinger and wrestlers” type.¹⁵ This makes it all the more probable that the earlier Aspendian staters were issued in the fifth century B.C.</p> <p>Finally we must consider the two Cypriote pieces in the hoard, the rare stater of Ba’alam, king of Citium, and the silver ring. Of these the former, (No. 10), in spite of the fact that it is</p>
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<p>overstruck, seems to afford a clearer picture of Heracles than do either of the published staters of this king.¹⁶ This may possibly be the latest coin in the find, for it has been shown by Babelon and Hill¹⁷ that Ba'alram reigned at Citium between 400 and 392 B.C. Additional interest is given to this specimen by the fact that it is overstruck on an Æginetan "tortoise" which cannot have been issued before 404 B.C., since it is of the type struck by the Æginetans when Lysander had restored them to their island after the downfall of Athens. As the weight of the coin is, like all contemporary Cypriote pieces, considerably below the standard Æginetic weight, it follows that the "tortoise" must have been pared down before the types of Citium were struck upon it.</p> <p>Not so the piece, possibly a coin which we may presume was used by some Cypriote silversmith for conversion into a finger-ring, (No. 11). The monetary standard of Cyprus has been regarded as "a reduced form of the Æginetic,"¹⁸</p>	
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18	SIDE HOARD
	<p>and the best evidence is afforded by a tetrobol of the sixth century which yields a stater of 11.91 grammes (183.9 grains).¹⁰ This corresponds closely with the ring which weighs 11.79 grammes (182 grains) and shows signs of considerable wear. It may well be as old as the oldest coin in the hoard—the Corinthian stater—and if this were so, it might be contemporary with the sixth-century tetrobol just referred to. In any case the ring likewise appears to point to the derivation of the Cypriote standard from the Æginetan.</p> <p>Perhaps the main point of interest about this small Pamphylian hoard is the fact that the local currency was buried in company with money which hailed originally from the three most prolific coining centers of Hellas—Ægina, Corinth, and Athens. The hoard is a fresh index of the constant trade relations between west and east.</p>
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NOTES

¹ The plated tetradrachms with copper core to which Aristophanes refers (Frogs, 725 f.)—"Sorry brass just struck last week and branded with a wretched brand," show the same character and must certainly belong to the year .406 B.C. (cf. *Hist. Num.*² p. 373). The less coarsely drawn coins, as in *B. M. C. Attica* Pl. iii, 2, 3, 4, 6 to 8, belong to the Pentecontaety and the earlier period of the Peloponnesian War.

² C. W. C. Oman in *Corolla Numis.*, p. 209.

³ *B. M. C. Corinth*, Pl. ii, 6.

⁴ Arrian, *Anab.* i, 26, cf. also Scylax, *Periplus* p. 40, Strabo xiv, p. 667, and Stephanus Byzantius s. v. Side.

⁵ Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphiliens u. Pisiden* (Vienna 1890) i, p. 185, No. 106.

⁶ Six, *Num. Chron.* 1897, p. 194 ff.

⁷ G. Macdonald, *Cat. Hunterian Coll.* ii, Pl. lviii, 7; cf. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. xxiv, 11, 13. The order in which the coins are described and figured in *Traité* is at variance with the proper sequence of fabric and technique.

⁸ Macdonald, *l. c.* Pl. lviii, 6. Babelon, *l. c.* 878, Pl. xxiv, 5.

⁹ Babelon *l. c.* 879, 880, Pl. xxiv, 6. *B. M. C. Lycia, etc.*, Pl. xxv, 7, 8, 9.

¹⁰ Evans, "Horsemen of Tarentum," p. 2, however, looks upon this border as Assyrian in origin.

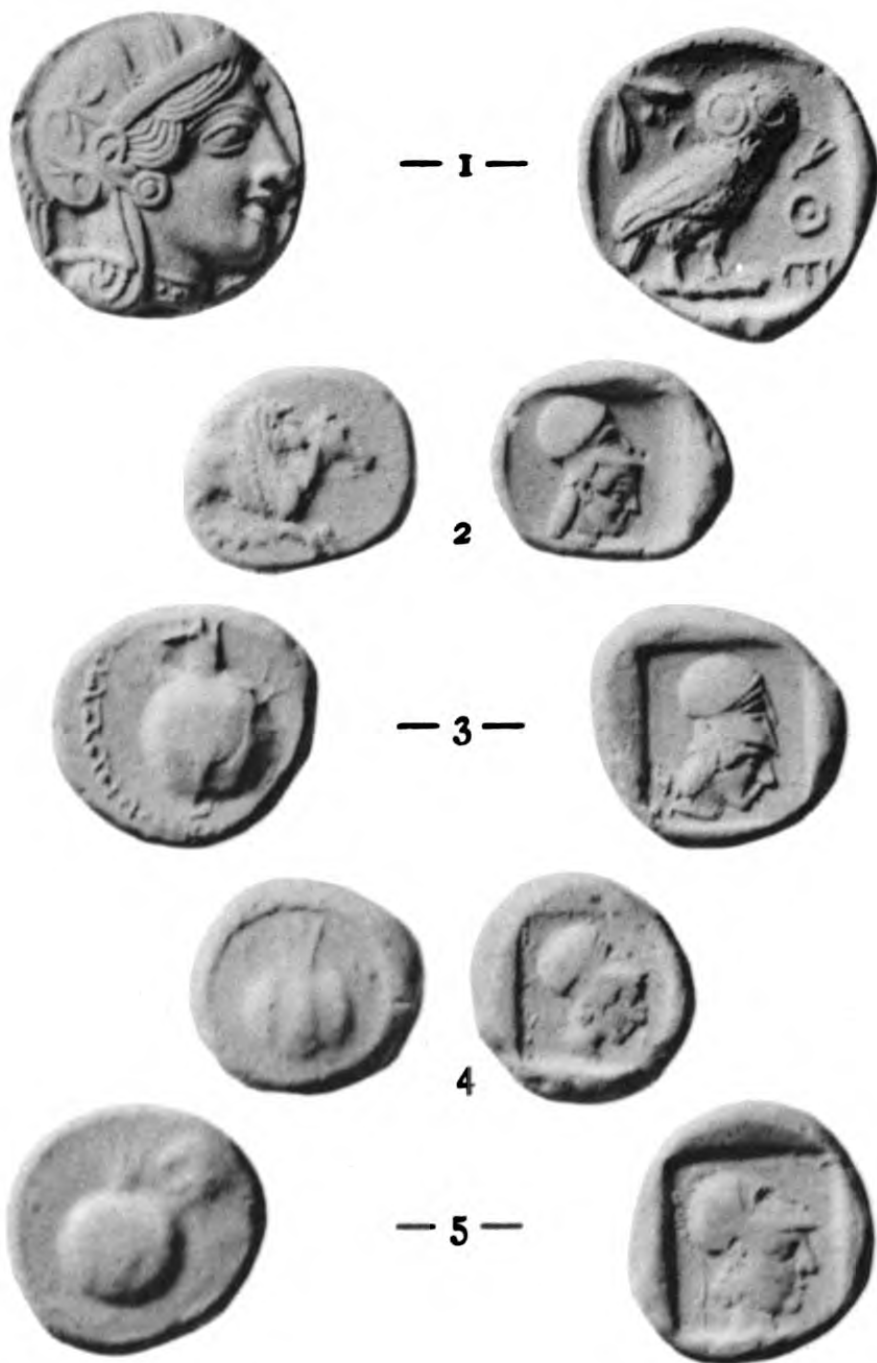
¹¹ *B. M. C. Lycia, etc.*, p. 144, 8; Pl. xxvi, 1.

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	<p>¹² <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1897, p. 202.</p> <p>¹³ Cf. <i>B. M. C. Lycia, etc.</i>, Pl. xix, 12 to 15; Babelon, <i>Traité</i>, Pl. cxliii, 16 to 18.</p> <p>¹⁴ <i>B. M. C.</i>, l. c., p. 95, 14; Pl. xix, 12.</p> <p>¹⁵ Six, <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1897, p. 195, 6. "Coll. Weber, surfrappée"; and 7, "Tous deux surfrappées sur des statères d'Aspendus."</p> <p>¹⁶ <i>B. M. C. Cyprus</i>, Pl. xix, 4, 5; the first coin in Paris, the second in Berlin. At the time of the catalogue's publication the British Museum possessed no specimen of this rare stater.</p> <p>¹⁷ <i>L. c.</i> p. xxxiii.</p> <p>¹⁸ Hill, <i>l. c.</i> p. xxii.</p> <p>¹⁹ <i>L. c.</i> p. xxiii; p. 48, No. 13.</p>
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SIDE

PLATE I



SIDE

PLATE II



6a



6b



7a



7c



SIDE

PLATE III



— 8 —



9



— 10 —



SIDE

PLATE I



— 1 —



2



— 3 —



4



— 5 —



SIDE

PLATE II



6a



6b



7a



7c



SIDE

PLATE III



— 8 —



9



— 10 —



CJ
35
N9

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 23



A CRETAN COIN HOARD

By RICHARD B. SEAGER

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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A CRETAN COIN HOARD

BY RICHARD B. SEAGER

In the autumn of 1922, I have been given to understand, some boys playing on a mound of earth in the outskirts of Canea, the Cretan capital, came upon part of the hoard of small silver coins described in this article. Originally, they seem to have been contained in an earthenware jar or pot which in the course of centuries had been broken, allowing the contents to become somewhat scattered. The fragments of the pot were not preserved, and I was unable to get any definite information either as to its size or shape. This is unfortunate as it might have assisted in more nearly fixing the date of burial of the hoard.

On my arrival in Crete, I was able to buy about 700 of these coins; and three months later, 303 others, making in all, 1003 pieces. Evidently after the discovery of the first lot, people began digging operations in the vicinity, and gradually unearthed more and

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	<p>more specimens, showing that at some previous period the original deposit had been much disturbed. The coins themselves fell into the hands of numerous owners—apparently, all the men at work had a share in the spoil, and it took some months of negotiation to get together the 1003 coins on which the following catalogue is based. Before my arrival in Crete, some had already found their way into the hands of local dealers and were thus dispersed, but I am inclined to think that these were not many in number and that I secured the bulk of the hoard as first found, except for about 80 pieces which were acquired by the Government in Athens.</p> <p>In Crete, coin hoards are not of common occurrence. In twenty years of collecting in the island, this is the first of any size of which I have heard, with the exception of one found a few years ago on the site of Gortyna. This Gortyna find was hurriedly dispersed, barring a few pieces which were seized by the Government, and it has been impossible to learn very much about it.</p> <p>The chief interest of the present hoard</p>
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consists in the fact that it presents a great number of dies of a hitherto obscure Cretan mint, of which only a few examples were known, and also increases our knowledge of the lesser silver coinage of Cydonia and Tanos, and their close relation to one another. It is also curious in that it contains coins of only three known Cretan towns—Cydonia, Tanos, and Itanos, whereas non-Cretan places, such as Aegina, Argos, Chalcis, Corinth, Histiaea, and Macedon are all represented, together with a Rhodian didrachm—the only coin of this weight in the entire hoard. Nearly all the coins are hemidrachms or still lighter denominations. The only drachms were one of Itanos, to which reference will be made later, one of Chalcis and two of Corinth.



From the fact that they were found on the site of the ancient Cydonia, it seems probable that the coins with the Aeginetic reverse (Plates I—V), which comprise 586 of the 1003 pieces in my possession, belong to that mint. There is some evidence for this as will be seen, and one naturally expects the bulk of the coins in a hoard to

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
4	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>belong to the mint of the district in which they were buried, unless they happened to have been the property of some foreign refugee.</p> <p>We also find in the hoard 200 trihemioibols of Aeginetic weight, with a seated hound on the reverse (Pl. V), all restruck on Rhodian hemidrachms. These, as we know from the legend, certainly belong to Cydonia as do certain of the obols (Plates VI, VII), so that if we assign the 586 pieces with the Aeginetic reverse to the same mint, we have roughly 800 coins belonging to Cydonia out of the total of 1003. I say "roughly," as only 14 of the 67 obols have been given to Cydonia whereas the number may really be greater, as will be seen when that series is dealt with in the catalogue.</p> <p>The pieces with the Aeginetic reverse may possibly belong to Tanos, which, from the coins already known and the new types included in this hoard, was evidently so intimately connected with Cydonia that it actually used Cydonian dies for its lighter denominations. We have practically no knowledge of Tanos beyond that given by</p>
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Svoronos in his *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne*, p. 318, where he places it in the immediate vicinity of Cydonia, and one hesitates to assign so large a series to a mint so little known and to which no coins can be definitely attributed except for a small series of obols. On the other hand the following evidence supports the claims of Cydonia to these coins. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-327, attributes a small bronze with a reverse of very much this type to one of two otherwise unknown towns, Thenae or Therapnae, in Crete. The reverse of this coin is identical with the hoard series except that it lacks the small cross-bar dividing one of the four compartments. Svoronos considers this reverse  to represent a Greek Theta and,  therefore, assigns it to one of the few Cretan towns the name of which begins with TH. He published an excellent example of this same coin in *Ephemeris Archaialogike*, 1889, Pl. 13, No. 14, where it will be seen how very similar it is to the hoard coins. A variety of this coin among the uncertain bronze of the British Museum (Fig. 1) appears to me to show the letters

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	<p>K Y Δ disposed outside the pattern of the reverse.  If my reading is correct, (Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the British Museum agrees with me,) this would tend to assign all the bronze and silver of this general type to the Cydonian mint. We have the analogy of the obols of Tanos for this curious triangular manner of placing the first three letters of the place-name. (See Plates VI, VII, O: 53 and Q: 53.)</p> <p>The attribution of this series to Cydonia is further strengthened by the coin shown in Fig. 2, which I have called Type A. This coin, which had been in my possession for some time before the discovery of the hoard, makes it fairly clear that this series with the Aeginetic reverse must belong to either Cydonia or Tanos, but preferably the former, as the head on the obverse is almost identical with one which occurs on certain known types of Cydonian obols, drachms and staters. (Svoronos, <i>Num. de la Crète</i>, Pl. IX, Nos. 15, 16, 23, 28.)</p> <p>Type A. Vine-crowned head of a nymph to l., flowing hair, border of dots. Restruck on an earlier flan.</p>
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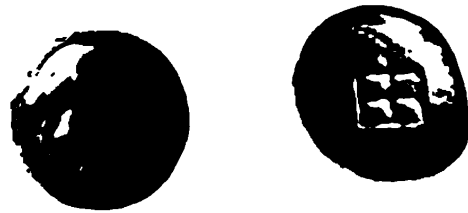


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

7

℞ Incuse square, divided by broad bands into five compartments.

AR .60, wt. 2.19 grm.

The weight 2.19 grm. is perplexing as it is a good deal heavier than the hoard series of this type. It may be meant for a light weight Aeginetic hemidrachm, and the extensive cleaning to which it has been subjected may partially account for its apparent underweight. From its style, it must be earlier in date than any of the hoard series with this Aeginetic type of reverse, with the possible exception of Type B on Plate I.

Belonging to the same series is the coin shown in Fig. 3.

The obverse die seems to be identical with that of Fig. 2.

℞ Incuse square, divided by narrow bands into five compartments. In lower right hand compartment, two dots (acorn?). Overstruck on an earlier flan. This coin is in the Berlin Cabinet and Dr. Kurt Regling, to whose kindness I owe the cast, tells me that it has hitherto been assigned to Aegina following Mionnet's publication of it (Mion-

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	<p>net, III, 599, 43, Pl. xviii, 6). The reverse is almost identical with that of certain coins of Aegina, B. M. Cat. <i>Attica</i>, Pl. xxiv, 13, where what here looks like two dots in one of the compartments, appears to be an acorn. Dr. Regling also tells me he has seen a similar coin in the Cabinet of Mr. Empedocles in Athens which is overstruck on a coin of Sicyon, and which by its style appears to him to be a good deal earlier than the Berlin example.</p> <p>Traditionally, Aegina figures as one of the original founders of Cydonia (Babelon, <i>Traité</i>, Vol. III, p. 1024, and Strabo, VIII, 6, 16), and may have maintained an influence on affairs even during the historical period. But our knowledge of the history of Cretan towns in general is very scanty and aside from an endless series of petty quarrels with each other we have little real information about them. Quite recently, however, a certain amount of evidence has come to light which tends to show that Aegina exercised some obscure commercial influence on the town of Cydonia. There is a possibility, first suggested by Prof. J. L. Myres, of</p>
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Oxford, that some of her turtle money may have been actually struck at Cydonia. Mr. E. S. G. Robinson is trying to collect some direct proof of a turtle mint in Crete, but the evidence is still insufficient for any definite statement. If this theory should prove to be correct, it would help to explain the appearance of the Aeginetic reverse on the large series of these coins in the present hoard.

The question of the date of the hoard is greatly assisted by the presence of the seven tetrobols of Macedon which were issued between 185-168 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 234) and of the 129 tetrobols of Histiaea which are assigned to 197-146 B.C. or even later. (*Hist. Num.*, p. 364.) The probabilities are that the hoard was buried about 150 B.C., at a conservative guess, perhaps during one of the internecine wars which so constantly ravaged this island. These datable pieces of Macedon and Histiaea raise interesting questions as to the dating of some of the other coins included in the hoard. The series of trihemibols belonging to Cydonia, with a youthful male horned head

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	<p>on the obverse and a seated hound on the reverse nearly all seem to be struck on hemidrachms of Rhodes of the type with the facing head of Helios. These Cydonian coins, judging by their condition, must have been nearly fresh from the mint at the time of the burial of the hoard. Few of them show signs of wear and many of them are in nearly mint state. According to <i>Hist. Num.</i>, p. 464, these pieces were struck between 400-300 B.C. and Babelon, Vol. III, pp. 1030-31, No. 1758, places them between 360-300 B.C. Both these dates appear manifestly impossible viewed from the evidence of the hoard. The original issue of Rhodian hemidrachms on which they are restruck is placed in B. M. Cat. <i>Caria</i>, pp. 240-247, at 304-166 B.C., and it is unlikely that they were restruck directly after their first issue. Secondly, the condition of the coins themselves proves that they cannot have been long in circulation when the hoard was buried. This cannot have taken place, at the earliest, before 185 B.C., as shown by the tetrobols of Macedon, and was more probably nearer 150 than 185 B.C. In</p>
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166 B.C., a reorganization of the coinage took place in Rhodes, and new types of drachms and hemidrachms appeared showing the rose on the reverse in a shallow incuse square, to distinguish them from the preceding issue which had become shockingly debased in weight. (*Hist. Num.*, p. 640). This new issue was an effort to rehabilitate the Rhodian mint by striking a series of coins of better weight to replace the preceding light weight types which were probably no longer accepted at their face value. It may be that the Cydonian treasury found itself overstocked with hemidrachms of the old type and, the new Rhodian series tending still further to discredit them, decided to restrike the whole lot as trihemibols of Aeginetic weight.

The whole question of weights of the Cretan pieces in this hoard is a puzzling one, and it would appear that all the Cydonian coins which it contains were intended to pass under both the Rhodian and the Aeginetic standards though under different denominations. These so-called trihemibols, as has been shown, are really Rhodian hemi-

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	<p>drachms. According to Macdonald, (<i>The Silver Coinage of Crete</i>, British Academy Papers, Vol IX, 1919, p. 18), the Rhodian system was used together with the Aeginetic and debased Aeginetic at Cydonia. Therefore one would have expected these small coins to have passed in Crete at their face value as hemidrachms of Rhodian weight, but this apparently was not the case. At this time the issues actually struck at Rhodes had so lost in weight that the Rhodian drachm was treated in Crete as an Aeginetic hemidrachm (Macdonald, p. 16). The Rhodian-struck hemidrachm apparently shared the same fate, and to solve the difficulty was valued and, as we have seen, restruck as an Aeginetic trihemibol.</p> <p>Another problem is presented by the large series of coins with the Aeginetic reverse. These range in weight from 1.36 to 1.94 grammes, but with an average weight of between 1.60 and 1.70 grammes. Of the 71 specimens belonging to the hoard described below, 11 are under 1.50 grms., 16 range from 1.50 to 1.60 grms., 29 from 1.60 to 1.70 grms., 13 from 1.70 to 1.80 grms.,</p>
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and only 2 examples are 1.80 grms., or over, the heaviest example being 1.86 grms. Five of those below 1.50 grms. were in bad condition or much cleaned, so that the normal low weight for these coins would not be less than 1.50 grms. They seem, as a whole, too light for Rhodian drachms, as in Crete it is the exception to find a drachm of this norm under at least two grammes, and most of them range from 3 to 3.50 grms.—the Cretan series of Rhodian weight being more nearly up to standard than the later issues of Rhodes itself (Macdonald, pp. 16-17). These coins are a good deal heavier than the series of restruck Rhodian hemidrachms discussed above, where the average weight seems to be between 1.20 and 1.30 grms., with a tendency to rise higher rather than lower, but they would be about right for Cretan-struck hemidrachms of Rhodian weight where the drachm usually ranges from 3 grms. to 3.50 grms., which would give a hemidrachm of 1.50 to 1.75 grms.; or, in other words, just what we find in the hoard series. When one tries to fit them into the Aeginetic standard as found in

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	<p>Crete they can only be diobols, a denomination that, so far, has not been recognized in any of the Cretan mints. In the entire Cretan series, only at Polyrhenium do we find a somewhat similar weight. There the coins with the facing bust of Dictynna on the obverse and the standing Apollo on the reverse, seem to approximate the hoard pieces with weights ranging from 1.62 to 2.11 grammes, with an average of 1.80. Macdonald (p. 22) speaks of them as Rhodian hemidrachms and Head, (<i>Hist. Num.</i>, p. 475), as hemidrachms of Attic weight. The use of the latter standard in Crete seems to have been very limited, and we find almost no traces of it aside from the series of tetradrachms of Attic weight, which may have been the result of some political or commercial grouping of certain Cretan towns. Accepting, therefore, these coins with the Aeginetic reverse as Rhodian hemidrachms, we find that they would also be right for Aeginetic diobols if, as Macdonald says (p. 11), the norm for Aeginetic hemidrachms in Crete is about 2.55 grammes. This would give an obol of .85 and a diobol</p>
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of 1.70 grms., which is just what we find in the hoard coins, and not far out for the series of Polyrrhenium.¹

From the reverses of the hoard coins, one would naturally have supposed that they would bear some relation to the Aeginetic system, but one would have hardly expected them to turn out to be diobols, a denomination which seems not to occur in the mint of Aegina itself or anywhere in Crete, if we except the coins of Polyrrhenium just mentioned. If they are really meant to be Aeginetic diobols, they were probably issued to fulfil some commercial need for which the overstruck Rhodian hemidrachms and other small denominations of Cydonia were considered unacceptable. The probable solution of the whole question is, that given the equal use of the two standards by the Cydonian treasury, a coin which could pass in both systems as a definite though different unit of weight was very acceptable, and that the coins with the Aeginetic reverse could

¹ Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. III, Pl. cclx, 11, shows a coin of Aptaera as silver which in the text p. 1022, No. 1741 bis, he gives as bronze and yet describes it as an Aeginetic diobol. The coin really is bronze, and an error has crept into the Plate.

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	<p>be either Aeginetic diobols or Rhodian hemidrachms, as best suited the needs of the moment.</p> <p>Of the two Aeginetan coins in the hoard, one triobol is in excellent state, Pl. VIII, 65, and shows few signs of having been in circulation for a long course of years as one would suppose must have been the case. This type, according to B. M. Cat. <i>Attica</i>, p. 139, No. 172, must have been issued before 431 B.C., and that it should still be in circulation by the middle of the second century B.C. without showing more signs of wear, seems incredible. This dating of these pieces with a crescent in one of the compartments of the incuse must be left open to question.</p> <p>The two Corinthian drachms, Pl. IX, 71, must have been in circulation for a long time, as one belongs to the issue of 350-338 B.C. This coin, however, shows considerable signs of wear. The second piece (issue of 300-243, B.C.) was in very bad state, with a large piece broken out of the side, and is not illustrated.</p> <p>There were 67 obols of Cydonia and</p>
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Tanos included in the hoard. Most of these show many signs of wear, especially the types M, N, O and P shown on Pl. VI. Types Q, R, S and T, on the other hand, were in fresher state and may have been the issues in circulation at the time of the burial of the hoard, especially R: 56, of which there were 13 examples out of the 67 pieces. The heads on the obverse of types N, P, Q and T seem to be new; at any rate, I have been unable to trace any published examples of them.

The question of sequence for the types with the Aeginetic reverse is not easy to decide, and my arrangement is an arbitrary one. In some cases the reverse of one series running over into another with a different obverse die, has served to indicate the order of sequence; but from the condition of the coins, the different issues must have succeeded one another fairly quickly and, except for type B, none of them had been long in circulation when the hoard was buried. The series with the obverse shown in Plates III to V, Types H and Ha, was the most abundant, numbering about 180 out of the

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18	<h2>A CRETAN COIN HOARD</h2> <p>total of 554 pieces, which were sufficiently well preserved for purposes of identification. This type, with its crude copy, I (Pl. IV), and, perhaps, J (Pl. V), were doubtless the dies in use at the time the hoard was hidden.</p> <p>The obverse die, as is usually the case, outlasted the reverse, and one finds the same obverse used with a series of different reverses and can note its gradual deterioration until it becomes so nearly indistinguishable that it had to be replaced by a new die. (Pl. I, B and Ba, and series D.) Nine obverse dies occur among these pieces with the Aeginetic reverse. At first I took type Ba on Pl. I to be independent, but it appears to be the die of type B in the final stages of disintegration. The reverse dies number forty-two, which is surprising considering that these coins were practically unknown before the discovery of this hoard.</p> <p>The obverse types, as is usual in the Cretan series, show extremes of style—some of them being quite good and others very crude. In the series E, F and Fa, on Plates II, III, one sees the original die and</p>
	<h2>NUMISMATIC NOTES</h2>

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its coarser copy in two states. The large series H on Plate III has also its crude copy I. The same reverse in several states is shown on Pl. I, series B:1, B:1a, C:1b and Ba:1c, also C:2, Ba:2a, D:2b and D:2c. Another reverse in several states is shown on Pl. III, Fa:15 and 15a and G:15b. In the above examples, one can follow the changes in the dies, flaws appearing at the corners of the design and a gradual filling and obscuring of the entire surface.

In one or two cases, the pieces with the Aeginetic reverse show slight traces of being restruck on an earlier flan, but in no case have I been able to make out the type of the original. Taking the series as a whole, cases of restriking are very rare in contrast to the trihemioobols where almost every coin shows traces of the older flan.

The obols of Cydonia and Tanos, shown on Plates VI and VII, are very perplexing and, except where they bear inscriptions, it is impossible to say to which mint they belong as the types for the two places are identical. Therefore, I have classed as uncertain several obols which have hitherto

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	<p>been given to Cydonia and have assigned definitely only those bearing legends.</p> <p>The coins of the hoard were, as a whole, in bad condition, heavily coated with a brownish-grey corrosion, and in many cases the metal itself was so rotten and granulated that some literally fell to pieces in cleaning. Fortunately, there was a sufficient number of sound specimens among the mass to enable me to reproduce the series here illustrated.</p> <p>Of the coins foreign to Crete, I have thought it unnecessary to illustrate all the examples. This is particularly so in the case of the 129 tetrobols of Histiaea. I have chosen, therefore, specimens which, from either their condition or type, seem worthy of notice.</p> <p>In addition to the Berlin coin, Fig. 3, and the one belonging to Mr. Empedocles, I have been able to trace but two others with reverses of this Aeginetic type</p> <p>The British Museum has a specimen of the coin shown on Pl. I, D: 2b, which apparently came from this same hoard as it was bought not long after its discovery, together with one of the Cydonian trihemibols shown</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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on Pl. V, K. A coin similar to H: 24 of Pl. IV is in Mr. Edward T. Newell's Cabinet, and he tells me that he thinks it came originally from the Pozzi Collection.

In the following catalogue the obverse types are indicated by capital letters, and where they pass through various states of deterioration these stages are further indicated by the addition of a small letter showing the state of the die. Thus C would be the obverse type in its first state, and Ca the die C showing the first signs of wear or deterioration.

The reverse types are indicated by numerals, to which small letters are added for indicating the different states of the die. Thus taking the obverse types B, C and Ba, we find them associated with the reverse die 1, which passes through stages of deterioration indicated by 1a, 1b and 1c, in the last of which the die has become almost entirely obliterated.

The following list gives the number of examples of the varieties contained in the hoard.

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22	A CRETAN COIN HOARD		
	<p>Cydonia—Type B 15 Examples</p> <p>“ Ba 12 “</p> <p>“ C 12 “</p> <p>“ Ca 21 “</p> <p>“ D 69 “</p> <p>“ E 93 “</p> <p>“ F 49 “</p> <p>“ Fa 33 “</p> <p>“ G 21 “</p> <p>“ H & Ha 180 “</p> <p>“ I 37 “</p> <p>“ J 12 “</p> <p>Uncertain, owing to state 32 “</p> <p>Total 586 “</p> <p>Types K & L 188 “</p> <p>Uncertain owing to state 12 “</p> <p>Total 200 “</p> <p>Cydonia & Tanos Obols.</p> <p>Cydonia 14 “</p> <p>Tanos 11 “</p> <p>Uncertain 42 “</p> <p>Total 67 “</p>		
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Itanos	2	Examples
Uncertain (Orion?)	1	“

Non-Cretan Coins

Aegina	2	“
Argos	5	“
Chalcis	1	“
Corinth	2	“
Histiaea	129	“
Macedon	7	“
Rhodes	1	“
Total	147	“

CYDONIA

Type B:1. Youthful head (Apollo?) to r., wearing wreath.

R. Incuse square divided by broad bands into five compartments.

AR .53, wt. 1.68 grm. 7 Examples.

R. 1a. Same die as above showing gradual filling up of the surface.

AR .58, wt. 1.74 grm. 8 Examples.

Type C:1b. Wreathed head (Apollo?) to r.

R. Same die as above showing still more marked deterioration.

AR .50, wt. 1.68 grm. 7 Examples.

PLATE I

AND MONOGRAPHS

24	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>Rz. 2. Similar to foregoing—the incuse seems now to disappear, though the square remains in varying forms throughout the entire series.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .52, wt. 1.65 grm. 5 Examples.</p> <p>Type Ba:1c. Wreathed head to r., very rough die.</p> <p>Rz. Same die as B:1, but with the design nearly obliterated.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .50, wt. 1.55 grm. 1 Example.</p> <p>Rz. 2a. Same die as C:2.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .51, wt. 1.62 grm. 11 Examples.</p> <p>Type D:2b. Head of Apollo or nymph to l., hair rolled, with long locks hanging down at back of the neck.</p> <p>Rz. Apparently the same die as C:2 and Ba:2a, but somewhat blurred through use.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.74 grm. 27 Examples.</p> <p>Rz. 2c. Same die, even more obliterated. The small cross-bar in the lower left hand compartment has now entirely disappeared.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .57, wt. 1.80 grm. 8 Examples.</p> <p>Rz. 3. Similar, but different die.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .52, wt. 1.68 grm. 28 Examples.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

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Type D:4. Same die, nearly obliterated.

Rz. Similar, but different die.

AR .50, wt. 1.36 grm. (much cleaned, hence low weight). 6 Examples.

Type Ca:3a. Same die as C, in second state showing flaw above the bridge of the nose. This die is shown on Plate II, Ca.

Rz. Same die as D:3 Not illustrated.

AR .52, wt. 1.41 grm. 1 Example.

Rz. 4a. Later state of D:4.

AR .55, wt. 1.74 grm. 6 Examples.

Rz. 5. Similar but different die.

AR .52, wt. 1.16 grm. 2 Examples.
Much cleaned, hence low weight.

Rz. 6. Similar but different die.

AR .48, wt. 1.52 grm. 4 Examples.

Rz. 6a. Same die Ca:6 in second state.

AR .56, wt. 1.68 grm. 7 Examples.

Rz. 6b. In third state, showing die nearly filled up.

AR .54, wt. 1.79 grm. 1 Example.

Type E:7. Head of Apollo or nymph to

PLATE
II

AND MONOGRAPHS

26	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
PLATE III	<p>l., hair rolled with locks hanging down at back of neck; border of dots. R7. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.72 grm. 16 Examples. R7. 8. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .52, wt. 1.39 grm. 26 Examples. R7. 9. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .53, wt. 1.52 grm. 14 Examples. R7. 10. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.63 grm. 37 Examples. Type F:11. New die similar to E but of coarser workmanship; border of dots. R7. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .53, wt. 1.70 grm. 29 Examples. R7. 12. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .58, wt. 1.56 grm. 7 Examples. R7. 13. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .53, wt. 1.59 grm. 4 Examples. R7. 10a. Same die as E:10 <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.62 grm. 9 Examples. Type Fa:7a. Same die but beginning to show signs of wear. R7. Same die as E:7, also beginning to fill up. <i>AR</i> .60 x .50, wt. 1.41 grm. 7 Examples.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

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Rv. 14. Similar but different die.

AR .56, wt. 1.41 grm. 21 Examples.

Rv. 15. Similar but different die.

AR .50, wt. 1.50 grm. 3 Examples.

Rv. 15a. Same die, showing flaw beginning to develop in upper right hand corner.

AR .55, wt. 1.62 grm. 2 Examples.

Type G:15b. Head of Apollo or nymph to l., hair rolled, long locks hanging down at back of neck; border of dots. Coarse style.

Rv. Same die as Fa:15 and 15a.

AR .50, wt. 1.67 grm. 3 Examples.

Rv. 16. Similar but different die.

AR .52, wt. 1.58 grm. 4 Examples.

Rv. 17. Similar but different die.

AR .54, wt. 1.59 grm. 7 Examples.

Rv. 17a. Same die as 17, but showing signs of wear. The short bar in lower left hand compartment entirely obliterated.

AR .55, wt. 1.62 grm. 3 Examples.
Not illustrated.

Rv. 18. Similar but different die. This is the only type showing the short crossbar

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in the lower left hand compartment
in this unusual position.



AR .54, wt. 1.62 grm. 4 Examples.

Type H:19. Head of Apollo or nymph to l. Hair rolled, long locks hanging down at back of neck.

Rv. Similar to the usual type.

AR .60, wt. 1.59 grm. 5 Examples.

Rv. 20. Similar but different die.

AR .56, wt. 1.55 grm. 3 Examples.

Rv. 21. Similar but different die.

AR .50, wt. 1.62 grm. 2 Examples.

PLATE
IV

Type I. Similar to Type H but very crude, coarse work. This die, I, and Type H are both associated with the following reverses, Nos. 22-29.

Types H, I:22.

Rv. Similar but different die.

H:22—*AR* .52, wt. 1.74 grm. 20 Examples.

I:22—*AR*. .53, wt. 1.52 grm. 1 Example.

Rv. 23. H—*AR* .57, wt. 1.60 grm. 29 Ex.

I—*AR* .53, wt. 1.76 grm. 2 Ex.

Type H:23a.

Same die.

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R7. This seems to be the die of No. 23 recut. Not illustrated.

AR .57, wt. 1.74 grm. 4 Examples.

Types H, I:24.

R7. Similar but different die.

H:24—AR .54, wt. 1.68 grm. 4 Examples.

I:24—AR .60 x .50, wt. 1.62 grm. 1 Ex.

R7. 25. Similar but different die.

H—AR .55, wt. 1.79 grm. 29 Examples.

I—AR .54, wt. 1.65 grm. 11 Examples.

R7. 26. Similar but different die.

H—AR .53, wt. 1.62 grm. 13 Examples.

I—AR .57, wt. 1.62 grm. 6 Examples.

R7. 27. Similar but different die.

H—AR .51, wt. 1.72 grm. 19 Examples.

I—AR .50, wt. 1.67 grm. 1 Example.

R7. 28. Similar but different die.

H—AR .52, wt. 1.57 grm. 17 Examples.

I—AR .52, wt. 1.63 grm. 10 Examples.

R7. 29. Similar but different die.

H—AR .57, wt. 1.62 grm. 5 Examples.

I—AR .51, wt. 1.42 grm. 1 Example.

Much cleaned.

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30	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>Type Ha:30. Same die as Type H, but much worn.</p> <p>Rv. Similar square divided into five compartments. One of the crossbars is carried outside the square on the right and ends in a ball-like knob. In the centre of each of the three square compartments, a pellet.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .50, wt. 1.62 grm. 2 Examples. (This, and the succeeding coins, Ha:30-38, show the die of Type H in a very worn state and must therefore be later than most of the preceding examples of this die.)</p> <p>Rv. 31. Similar to No. 30 but different die. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.50 grm.; another example, wt. 1.79 grm. 4 Examples.</p> <p>Rv. 32. Similar but with the knob on horizontal crossbar outside on l., instead of r. <i>AR</i> .57, wt. 1.52 grm.; another example, wt. 1.72 grm. 5 Examples.</p> <p>Rv. 33. Similar but with exterior knob on lower end of vertical crossbar. <i>AR</i> .57, wt. 1.67 grm. 5 Examples.</p> <p>Rv. 34. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .62, wt. 1.62 grm. 1 Example.</p>
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R̄. 35. Similar but with exterior knob at top of vertical crossbar.

AR .53, wt. 1.42 grm. 3 Examples.

R̄. 36. Similar but different die.

AR .52, wt. 1.55 grm. 1 Example.

In the following coins, Nos. 37 and 38, we again find the obverse types H and I associated with the same reverses.

Type Ha, I:37. Same die.

R̄. Similar to No. 36, but different die.

Ha—AR .55, wt. 1.65 grm. 3 Examples.

I—AR .52, wt. 1.48 grm. (Much cleaned, hence low weight.) 3 Examples.

R̄. 38. Similar to Nos. 33 and 34 but different die.

Ha—AR .57, wt. 1.62 grm. 4 Examples.

I—AR .53, wt. 1.46 grm. (Much cleaned, hence low weight.) 1 Example.

R̄. 39. Usual type without knob or pellets.

AR .50, wt. 1.86 grm. 2 Examples.

Type J:39. Head of Apollo or nymph to r., hair rolled with long locks hanging down at back of neck; border of dots.

PLATE
V

AND MONOGRAPHS

32	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>Rζ. Same die as No. Ha:39. <i>AR</i> .54, wt. 1.68 grm. 1 Example.</p> <p>Rζ. 40. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .57, wt. 1.46 grm. 1 Example.</p> <p>Rζ. 41. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .52, wt. 1.59 grm. 4 Examples.</p> <p>Rζ. 42. Similar but different die. <i>AR</i> .51, wt. 1.67 grm. 6 Examples.</p> <p>The following series are all struck on Rhodian hemidrachms and have long been recognized as belonging to Cydonia. In the large number, 200 examples, contained in the hoard, two obverse dies could be clearly recognized, and appear below as Types K and L. Of these obverse dies, K occurs the more frequently. The reverse dies are three in number and occur in conjunction with both the obverse types K and L. Most of these dies pass through various states, but I have shown two states only of one of them, in K-L:45 and 45a. In many cases it was possible to make out the symbol and magistrate's name of the original Rhodian flan. A list of those which could be distinguished is given below, and two coins</p>
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with clear traces of the old flan are shown in Pl. V., L:46 and K:47.

Types K-L:43. Young horned head (Pan?) to l.; border of dots.

℞. K Y Seated hound to r.

K—AR .55, wt. 1.36 grm. 35 Examples.

L—AR .57, wt. 1.49. 26 Examples.

℞. 44. Similar but different die.

K—AR .61, wt. 1.16 grm. 46 Examples.

L—AR .56, wt. 1.28 grm. 14 Examples.

Types K-L:45. Same dies but showing signs of wear.

℞. Similar but different die.

K—AR .62, wt. 1.46 grm. 22 Examples.

L—AR .58, wt. 1.41 grm. 15 Examples.

Types K-L:45a. Same dies, much worn.

℞ Same die as No. 45, but the flaw by the K has increased in size.

K—AR .53, wt. 1.24 grm. 15 Examples.

L—AR .54, wt. 1.23 grm. 15 Examples.

Type L:46. Die of Type L badly struck.

℞. Same die as No. 45. The facing head of Helios of the original Rhodian flan is clearly visible.

AR .60, wt. 1.38 grm.

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	<p>Type K:47. Die of Type K, badly struck. Rv. Same die as No. 43. Magistrate's name, EYKPATHEΣ; symbol, anchor, of the original Rhodian flan clearly visible.</p> <p>AR .55, wt. 1.07 grm. (Broken and much cleaned, hence low weight.)</p> <p>The following is the list of the Rhodian magistrates' names and symbols as far as they could be made out on this series. For a list of these names and symbols, see B.M. Cat. <i>Caria and Islands</i>, p. 247, Nos. 188-196.</p> <p>AMEINIAΣ, symbol, bearded ithyphallic term r. 12 Examples.</p> <table><tr><td>1</td><td>AMEINIAΣ, term,</td><td>1.23 grm.</td></tr><tr><td>2</td><td>AM, "</td><td>1.29 "</td></tr><tr><td>3</td><td>AME,</td><td>1.16 "</td></tr><tr><td>4</td><td>A(M?) . . . ,</td><td>1.26 "</td></tr><tr><td>5</td><td>A term,</td><td>1.23 "</td></tr><tr><td>6</td><td>AM</td><td>1.16 "</td></tr><tr><td>7</td><td>AMEINIAΣ</td><td>1.23 "</td></tr><tr><td>8</td><td>AMEIN . . . , term,</td><td>1.21 "</td></tr><tr><td>9</td><td>AMEINIAΣ "</td><td>1.23 "</td></tr><tr><td>10</td><td>A, " P-</td><td>1.20 "</td></tr><tr><td>11</td><td>. . . INIAΣ,</td><td>1.29 "</td></tr><tr><td>12</td><td>. . EINIAΣ,</td><td>1.28 "</td></tr></table>	1	AMEINIAΣ, term,	1.23 grm.	2	AM, "	1.29 "	3	AME,	1.16 "	4	A(M?) . . . ,	1.26 "	5	A term,	1.23 "	6	AM	1.16 "	7	AMEINIAΣ	1.23 "	8	AMEIN . . . , term,	1.21 "	9	AMEINIAΣ "	1.23 "	10	A, " P-	1.20 "	11	. . . INIAΣ,	1.29 "	12	. . EINIAΣ,	1.28 "
1	AMEINIAΣ, term,	1.23 grm.																																			
2	AM, "	1.29 "																																			
3	AME,	1.16 "																																			
4	A(M?) . . . ,	1.26 "																																			
5	A term,	1.23 "																																			
6	AM	1.16 "																																			
7	AMEINIAΣ	1.23 "																																			
8	AMEIN . . . , term,	1.21 "																																			
9	AMEINIAΣ "	1.23 "																																			
10	A, " P-	1.20 "																																			
11	. . . INIAΣ,	1.29 "																																			
12	. . EINIAΣ,	1.28 "																																			
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A CRETAN COIN HOARD

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ΑΚΕΣΙΣ, symbol, dolphin. 4 Examples.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | ...ΣΙΣ | 1.27 grm. | |
| 2 | dolphin | | " (broken) |
| 3 | ...ΣΙΣ | 1.29 | " " |
| 4 |ΙΣ | 1.36 | " |

ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, symbol, trident.

1 Example.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------|-----------|--|
| 1 | . ΝΑΞΑΝ.... | 1.26 grm. | |
|---|-------------|-----------|--|

ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, symbol, anchor. 10 Examples.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------|--------|
| 1 | ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗ. anchor, | 1.29 grm. | |
| 2 | ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ | " | 1.07 " |
| 3 | P-O | " | 1.29 " |
| 4 | ΕΥΚΡΑ... P-O | " | 1.25 " |
| 5 | .. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ (broken) | " | 1.12 " |
| 6 | .ΥΚΡΑ... | " | 1.16 " |
| 7 | anchor, | " | 1.21 " |
| 8 | .. ΚΡΑ... | " | 1.23 " |
| 9 | | " | 1.29 " |
| 10 | P-O | " | 1.28 " |

One coin shows a bunch of grapes as the symbol but no letters can be distinguished. In addition to the above, nearly all of the 200 examples of this series bear some traces of the original flans on either the obverse or reverse. With the exception of the coin

Α Ν Δ Μ Ο Ν Ο Γ Ρ Α Φ Η Σ

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	<p>mentioned below, the highest weight was 1.52 grm., but the well preserved specimens average from 1.20 to 1.30 grm. as a rule. One of these coins seems not to be struck on the usual type of Rhodian hemidrachms, and weighs 1.74 grm., which puts it in a quite different class to the others. The original obverse shows traces of a facing head to the right; and the reverse, very faint traces of a design in a square or incuse with a bunch of grapes as a symbol. It appears to be one of the early Rhodian hemidrachms of the issue of 408-400 B.C., B.M. Cat. <i>Caria</i>, Pl. xxxvi, 2.</p> <p>On Plates VI and VII are shown the series of obols of Cydonia and Tanos which numbered 67 examples. Only 14 of these can, with certainty, be assigned to Cydonia and eleven to Tanos. The remaining 42 pieces might belong to either town. Unfortunately these tiny coins of thin metal had suffered greatly from corrosion and were in a very fragile state so that some of the examples shown on Pl. VI leave much to be desired. Also the specimens of what seem to be the earlier types of the series M, N, O, and P</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

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were already badly worn before the burial of the hoard, but as one or two of them seem to be unpublished I have thought it advisable to illustrate them, poor though they may be.

The plates are arranged to show the close relationship of the two mints by bringing similar dies together rather than with a view to grouping the coins of each town separately. In some cases the obverse dies of the two places are identical; and the same may have been the case with the reverses where they are without legends, so that it seems quite impossible to assign the uninscribed specimens with any certainty to either one or the other of these mints.

UNCERTAIN

Type M:48. Wreathed head of Apollo or nymph to l., much worn.

R. Three crescents; in centre, a pellet; border of dots.

AR .50, wt. .51 gm. (much corroded and cleaned). 1 Example.

This obverse appears to be from the same die as that used for M:50 (below), which clearly belongs to Cydonia.

PLATE
VI

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38	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>Type N:49. Head of nymph to r. Crude, heavy fabric.</p> <p>Rφ. Three crescents; in centre, a pellet.</p> <p>AR .43, wt. 1.10 grm. 1 Example.</p> <p>The head on the obverse of this coin seems to be a rough copy of the fine staters of Cydonia signed by Neuantos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CYDONIA</p> <p>Type M:50. Wreathed head of Apollo or nymph, to r.</p> <p>Rφ. Three crescents; in centre, K; border of dots.</p> <p>AR .42, wt. 1.07 grm. (Svoronos, Pl. ix, 17). 3 Examples.</p> <p>The obverse, as noted above, seems to be the same as that of M:48.</p> <p>Type O:51. Head of nymph to l., crowned with ivy; border of dots.</p> <p>Rφ. KY Δ ΩN. Three crescents; in centre, bucranium; border of dots.</p> <p>AR .48, wt. .77 grm. (highest wt. 1.03 grm.) Svoronos, Pl. ix, 27. 9 Examples, all much worn.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

39

TANOS

Type P:52. Head of Apollo or nymph to r.. Much worn.

R ζ . Three crescents—in the arc of one of them a T—in centre, a pellet; border of dots.
AR .51, wt. .71 grm. (much corroded and cleaned). 1 Example.

This coin, which seems to be an unpublished variety, has in the arc of one of the crescents the same badly formed T that we find on the Tanos pieces described below (O:53). The surface of the coin is so worn that it is not clear whether the legend was originally TAN as on the other Tanos pieces.

Type O:53. Same die as O:51.

R ζ . T A N Similar die to P:52.
AR .50, wt. .94 grm. (Svoronos, Pl. xxx, 23). 8 Examples.

UNCERTAIN

Type O:54. Same as O:53.

R ζ Three crescents—in the arc of each, a pellet—a fourth in the centre; border of dots.
AR .53, wt. .94 grm. 5 Examples.

This type is published by Svoronos, Pl. ix, 29, as belonging to Cydonia.

AND MONOGRAPHS

40	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
<p>PLATE VII</p>	<p>Rζ. O:55. Three crescents; in centre, a pellet; border of dots.</p> <p>AR .42, wt. .93 grm. (Svoronos Pl. ix, 28). 7 Examples.</p> <p>There seem to be faint traces of a T in the arc of one of the crescents, and of an A in the l. field, but the coin is much worn. The piece figured in Svoronos under Cydonia (Pl. ix, 28) also shows traces of these letters, so it may be that this is really a worn die of the reverse of P:52 and O:53.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TANOS</p> <p>Type Q:53. Head of Apollo or nymph to r. (wreathed?); hair rolled and bound at the back of the neck; border of dots.</p> <p>Rζ. Apparently the same die as O:53.</p> <p>AR .43, wt. .77 grm. 2 Examples.</p> <p>This obverse seems to be unpublished.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">UNCERTAIN</p> <p>Type Q:56. Same die as Q:53.</p> <p>Rζ. Three crescents; in centre, a pellet; border of dots.</p> <p>AR .50, wt. .62 grm. 3 Examples.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">NUMISMATIC NOTES</p>

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

41

The reverse die of this piece seems to be the same as that of R:56 described below and hitherto assigned to Cydonia.

Type Q:57. Same die as Q:53 and Q:56.
R \varnothing . Three crescents; in centre, bucranium; border of dots.

AR .47, wt. .75 grm. 4 Examples.

This reverse is very similar to that given below under S:60 and assigned by Svoronos to Cydonia.

Type R:56. Head of Apollo or nymph to r., hair rolled and bound at back of neck; border of dots.

R \varnothing Same die as Q:56.

AR .48, wt. .77 grm. (Svoronos Pl. ix, 13). 13 Examples.

Type R:58. Same die.

R \varnothing Similar to O:54, but a different die.

AR .47, wt. .77 grm. 1 Example.

Type S:59. Youthful head to r., hair rolled and bound at back of neck; border of dots.

R \varnothing . Three crescents; in arc of each, a pellet—in centre, bucranium; border of dots.

AR .45, wt. .62 grm. 1 Example.

AND MONOGRAPHS

42	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>Type S:60. Same die.</p> <p>Rζ. Three crescents; in centre, bucranium; border of dots.</p> <p>AR .45, wt. .75 grm. 6 Examples.</p> <p>This coin is shown in Svoronos, Pl. ix, 14, and in the B. M. Cat. <i>Crete</i>, Pl. vii, 9, as belonging to Cydonia, but it might equally well belong to Tanos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CYDONIA</p> <p>Type T:61. Youthful head to l., hair rolled and bound in knot at back of neck. Coarse style.</p> <p>Rζ. Three crescents; in centre, bucranium; in field near border, K; border of dots. Very crude style.</p> <p>AR .47, wt. .75 grm. 1 Example.</p> <p>This seems to be an altogether unpublished type of Cydonia.</p> <p>Type U:61. Head of Apollo or nymph to r. (wreathed?); hair rolled and bound at the back of the neck; border of dots. Barbarous style.</p> <p>Rζ Same die as T:61.</p> <p>AR .47, wt. .77 grm. 1 Example.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

43

This coin seems a barbarous copy of Q:57. The presence of the K on the reverse would seem to confirm its assignment to Cydonia.

I T A N O S

No. 62. Helmeted head of Athena to l.

Rv. Star of eight rays.

AR .51, wt. .58 grm. (Obol. Svoronos, Pl. xix, No. 22, or similar.) 1 Example.

No. 63. Helmeted head of Athena to l.

Rv. ITANIΩN. Eagle standing to l., with head turned r. In r. field, a triton to l., raising his r. hand and carrying in his l. a trident; concave field.

AR .80, wt. 5.11 grm. (Drachm. Svoronos, Pl. xix, No. 24.) 1 Example.

O R I O N (?)

No. 64. Vase with two neck-handles (or deeply fluted neck) and a vertical handle on the body.

Rv. Incuse square of Aeginetic pattern, divided by bands into five compartments, badly worn and much corroded.

AR .46, wt. .75 grm. 1 Example.

PLATE
VIII

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

This type has been published by Cameron and Hill, Num. Chron., Fourth Series, Vol. XIII, 1913, No. 22, Pl. xv, 21. It is interesting to find it in this hoard containing such a mass of coins with reverses of Aeginetic pattern. I have always noticed in buying coins on Cretan sites, that coins foreign in origin to the place where they are found will often be similar in type to the issues of the local mint of that district. Thus at Praesos, foreign coins with the reverse type of a bull's head facing are common and the same occurs at Gortyna and Phaistos where Euboic types are often found. In the mountain towns of the West, Elyros, Hyrtakina, Lisos and Polyrhenium, the silver obols of Sicyon with flying doves are very common, probably because they are almost identical with the local silver obols of this region. In the Messara, I have several times seen drachms of Samos with the incuse lion mask on the reverse, which are again similar to the earlier issues of Gortyna, which controlled this district. This same fact holds good with the bronze coinage, as, for example, Retimo, the ancient

NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

45

Rithymna, where foreign bronze coins with dolphin types are found in considerable numbers; and Cydonia, where bronze with bunches of grapes frequently occur, resembling but not belonging to the Cydonian series.

On the following plates, Nos. VIII to XII, are shown the non-Cretan coins belonging to the hoard.

A E G I N A

No. 65. Tortoise; structure of shell divided into ten plates, to r., A, to l., (^ ?), R̄. Incuse square divided by bands into five compartments; in left upper compartment, a crescent.

AR .55, wt. 2.98 grm. (Triobol. B.M. Cat. *Attica*, Pl. xxiv, 15). 1 Example.

No. 66. Tortoise; badly worn.

R̄. Incuse square divided by bands into five compartments.

AR .47, wt. 2.07 grm. Much cleaned, hence low weight (Triobol. cf. B.M. Cat. *Attica*, Pl. xxv, 8). 1 Example.

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

ARGOS

c. 322-229 B.C., and later.

No. 67. Forepart of wolf to l.; in front, Δ .
 R ζ . A in shallow incuse square; below,
 animal (horse?) running to r.; above, Δ -I in
 two deeper incuses.

AR .57, wt. 2.33 grm. Much cleaned;
 hence low weight. (Hemidrachm.)

1 Example.

The symbol on the reverse of this coin
 does not seem to be given in either the B.M.
 Cat. or in Babelon.

No. 68. Forepart of wolf to l.

R ζ . A in shallow incuse square; below,
 crescent; in field A-P.

AR .58, wt. 2.46 grm. (Hemidrachm.
 B.M.Cat. *Peloponnesus*, p. 141, No. 60.)

3 Examples.

No. 69. Same.

R ζ . A in shallow incuse square; below, club;
 in l. field, N and beneath it, I.

AR .55, wt. 2.39 grm. Much cleaned
 hence low weight. (Hemidrachm.)

1 Example.

This coin also seems slightly different to
 any given in the B.M. Cat.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD	47
<p>CHALCIS c. 369(?)–336 B.C.</p> <p>No. 70. Female head to r., wearing earring; hair rolled. (Badly struck.)</p> <p>Rζ. Eagle to r., with outspread wings seizing a serpent with its claws and beak; below, ΛAX; concave field.</p> <p>AR .67, wt. 3.49 grm. (Drachm. Cf. B.M. Cat. <i>Central Greece</i>, Pl. xx, 14.) 1 Example.</p> <p>CORINTH c. 350–338 B.C.</p> <p>No. 71. Pegasos, with pointed wing, flying l.; beneath, φ.</p> <p>Rζ. Head of Aphrodite, l., wearing earring, and necklace; hair bound with crossed cords and tied at crown of head, leaving loose ends.</p> <p>AR .57, wt. 2.26 grm. Much cleaned. (Drachm. B.M. Cat. <i>Corinth</i>, p. 46, No. 384; Pl. xi, 14.) 1 Example.</p> <p>A second coin of Corinth, not illustrated, and with a large piece broken out of the side, seems to be similar to B.M. Cat. <i>Corinth</i>, Pl. xiii, 17, of the issue of 300–243 B.C.</p>	PLATE IX
AND MONOGRAPHS	

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

RHODES c. 400-333 B.C.

No. 72. Facing head of Apollo, very much corroded.

Rv. PO Δ ION. Rose and bud in incuse square; in r. field, bunch of grapes; below, E.
AR .77, wt. 5.24 grm. Much cleaned.
 (Didrachm. B.M.Cat. *Caria*, p. 233, No. 27, and Pl. xxxvi, 8). 1 Example.

MACEDON c. 185-168 B.C.

No. 73. Head of Maenad to r., wreathed with vine and wearing necklace and earring.

Rv. MAKE / Δ ONQN. Between the two lines, stern of galley r., in field, r., Π .
AR .52, wt. 2.04 grm. (Tetrobol. B.M. Cat. *Macedon*, p. 10, No. 27). 3 Examples.

***No. 74.** Similar.

Rv. Similar, but with the two lines of the inscription above stern of galley and no letter in field.

AR .57, wt. 1.87 grm. Much cleaned.
 (Tetrobol. B.M.Cat. *Macedon*, p. 10, No. 23). 2 Examples.

*Through an error, the obverses and reverses of Nos. 74 and 75 have been incorrectly placed on the plate.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

49

No. 75. Similar.

Rv. Similar to No. 73 above, but with M. in field to r., instead of Π.

AR .56, wt. 1.81 grm. (Tetrobol. B.M. Cat. *Macedon*, p. 10, No. 26). 2 Examples.



HISTIAEA

Circa 196-146 B.C.

In the following series it will be noted that the weights are very irregular, ranging from 1.62 to 2.30 grm. The probable explanation of this irregularity is given by Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. III, p. 210, where he assumes that these light weight coins were issued to challenge the supremacy of the Rhodian hemidrachms which were circulating in such great numbers at this time. The whole hoard shows the influence of these Rhodian coins as we have already seen in connection with the Cydonian series, and it is interesting to note that the foreign pieces for the most part conform to the same standard.

The hoard contained 129 of the coins of Histiaea. For the most recent discussion of this mint, see Newell, *Octobols of Histiaea*,

AND MONOGRAPHS

50	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
PLATE X	<p>Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 2, New York, 1921; also B.M.Cat. <i>Central Greece</i>, pp. 128-135.</p> <p>No. 76. Female head to r. usually wearing earring, necklace and vine wreath; hair rolled. Behind head, X. ℞ ΙΣΤΙ ΑΙΕΩΝ. Nymph Histiaea seated to r., on stern of a galley and holding a stylis. On galley, wing; beneath, E (?). AR .60, wt. 1.87 grm.</p> <p>There are slight variations in the grouping of the letters of this inscription, but save where they are of importance, they will not be mentioned, and the ethnic will be understood to read as above. All the following coins up to No. 101 show the galley decorated with a wing, which must be understood in the description of the succeeding pieces.</p> <p>No. 77. Similar, behind head ▲. ℞ Similar, beneath,  (?). AR .55, wt. 2.25 grm.</p> <p>No. 78. Similar, behind head, A. ℞. Similar, beneath,  (?). AR .58, wt. 2.07 grm. B.M.Cat. 79, p. 131, or similar. 2 Examples.</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

51

Rv. No. 79. (Δ ?) after final N; in r. field, below arm, Σ .

AR .63 x .55, wt. 1.81 grm.

Rv. No. 80. Beneath, trident and T I.

AR .61, wt. 2.13 grm. B.M.Cat. 54, p. 129, or similar. 3 Examples.

Rv. No. 81. Beneath, \mathcal{P} ; above, \mathcal{E} .

AR .58, wt. 2.04 grm. B.M.Cat. 74, p. 131.

No. 82.

AR .61, wt. 1.92 grm.

Rv. No. 83. Beneath, trident(?)

AR .56, wt. 2.24 grm.

Rv. No. 84. Beneath, E A.

AR .60, wt. 2.07 grm.

Rv. No. 85. To r. Δ Σ

AR .60, wt. 2.13 grm.

Rv. No. 86. Above, \mathcal{A} .

AR .53, wt. 2.20 grm. B.M.Cat. 77, p. 131.

Rv. No. 87. Symbol illegible.

AR 59, wt. 2.18 grm.

No. 88. Hair standing out in loose locks.

Rv. No symbol visible.

AR .62, wt. 1.74 grm.

PLATE
XI

AND MONOGRAPHS

52	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
PLATE XII	<p> Rζ No. 89. Beneath, bee or fly. <i>AR</i> .56, wt. 2.20 grm. Rζ No. 90. Beneath, Δ. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.72 grm. Rζ No. 91. ΙΣΤΙ ΝΩΞΙΑ; beneath, double axe and $\bar{\Lambda}$. <i>AR</i> .62, wt. 2.20 grm. B.M.Cat. 60, p. 130. 4 Examples. Rζ No. 92. Beneath, Δ. <i>AR</i> .61, wt. 2.26 grm. Rζ No. 93. Very barbarous style. <i>AR</i> .60, wt. 2.04 grm. Rζ No. 94. Beneath, thunderbolt and Σ. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.78 grm. B.M. Cat. 58, p. 130. Rζ No. 95. Illegible monogram below. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 1.87 grm. No. 96. <i>AR</i> .60, wt. 2.30 grm. No. 97. Head with flying locks of hair. <i>AR</i> .56, wt. 1.86 grm. No. 98. ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ. Barbarous style. <i>AR</i> .60, wt. 1.74 grm. Rζ No. 99. Beneath, trident. <i>AR</i> .55, wt. 2 grm. B.M.Cat. Pl. xxiv, 9, or similar. </p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

53

Rv. No. 100. Beneath, Ξ A .

AR .60, wt. 1.91 grm. 2 Examples.

Rv. No. 101. On galley, tripod; beneath, trident.

AR .62 x .53, wt. 1.79 grm. B.M. Cat. 119, p. 134, or similar. 3 Examples.

Rv. No. 102. On galley, bird; beneath, $\Theta\Xi$.

AR .55, wt. 1.94 grm. B.M. Cat. 109, p. 133, or similar. 2 Examples.

Rv. No. 103. On galley, dagger.

AR .58, wt. 1.81 grm.

Rv. No. 104. On galley, thunderbolt; beneath, Σ .

AR .58, wt. 1.87 grm. 3 Examples.

No. 105. Behind head traces of letter or symbol.

Rv. In upper r. field, large bird.

AR .58, wt. 2.07 grm.

Rv. No. 106. On galley, star; beneath, trident.

AR .58, wt. 1.62 grm. B.M. Cat. 123, p. 134. 3 Examples.

Rv. No. 107. ICC. . . . Very crude style; inscription and type blundered.

AR .61, wt. 2.04 grm.

AND MONOGRAPHS

54	A CRETAN COIN HOARD
	<p>The following coins are not illustrated but are included in the catalogue for purpose of reference.</p> <p>No. 108. Obverse die of No. 99 and similar.</p> <p>Rv. On galley, wing; beneath, TI with or without trident. These are different dies to the reverse shown under No. 80.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .60, .55, .58, wt. 2.30, 2.11, 2.09 gm. Babelon, <i>Traité</i>, III, Pl. cxcviii, 29. 3 Ex.</p> <p>No. 109. Obverse die of No. 80.</p> <p>Rv. On galley, wing; beneath, trident (?) and IP.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .63, wt. 2.13 gm. B.M.Cat. 45, p. 129, or similar.</p> <p>Rv. No. 110. On galley, wing; beneath, trident.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .55, wt. 2.10 gm. B.M.Cat. 36-38, p. 128, or similar.</p> <p>Rv. No. 111. On galley, wing; beneath trident and ΣΩ.</p> <p><i>AR</i> .58, wt. 1.85 gm. B.M.Cat. 131, p. 135, or similar.</p> <p>Rv. No. 112. On galley, star; no symbol;</p>
	NUMISMATIC NOTES

A CRETAN COIN HOARD

55

not the same dies as No. 106 which has the trident as symbol.

AR .60, wt. 1.82 grm. B.M.Cat. 125-126, p. 134, or similar. 3 Examples, different dies.

R. No. 113. Beneath galley, crested helmet.

AR .53, wt. 1.74 grm. B.M.Cat. 117, p. 134, and similar. 3 Examples, different dies.

R. No. 114. Type to left.

AR .67, wt. 1.81 grm. B.M.Cat. 108, p. 133, or similar.

There are seventy of these coins of Histiaea in addition to the above, but a good many of them are in bad condition with the symbols and legends largely obliterated, so that I have not attempted to illustrate or describe them.

AND MONOGRAPHS

CRETAN HOARD

PLATE I.



B



I



Ia



C



Ib



2



Ba



Ic



2a



D:2b



D:2c



D:3



D:4



CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE II



Ca



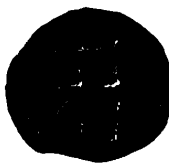
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5



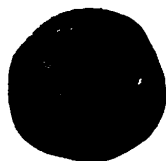
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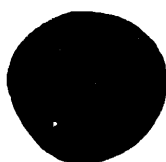
6a



6b



E



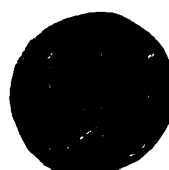
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8



9



10



F



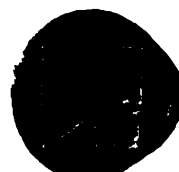
F:11



12



13



F:10a

CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE II



Ca



4a



5



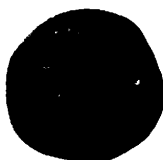
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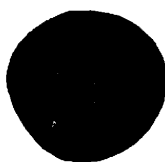
6a



6b



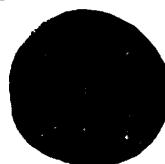
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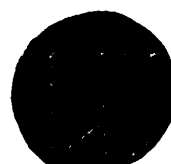
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8



9



10



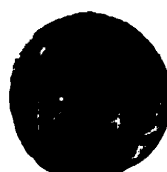
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F:11



12



13



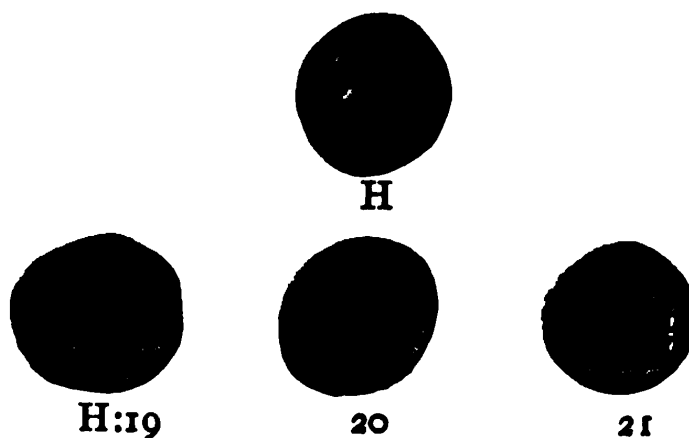
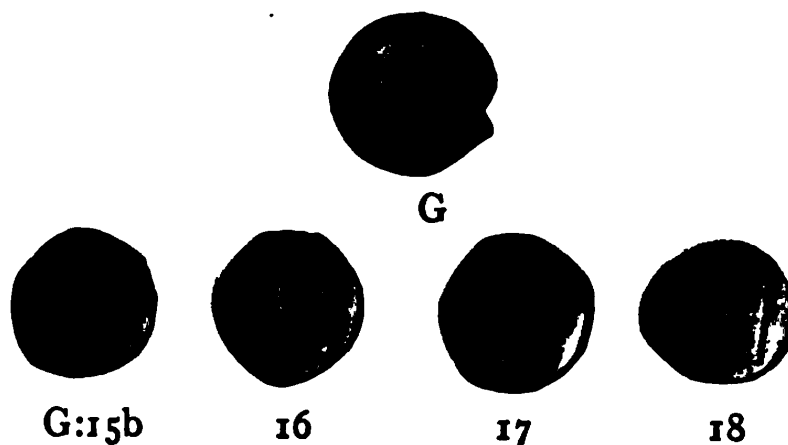
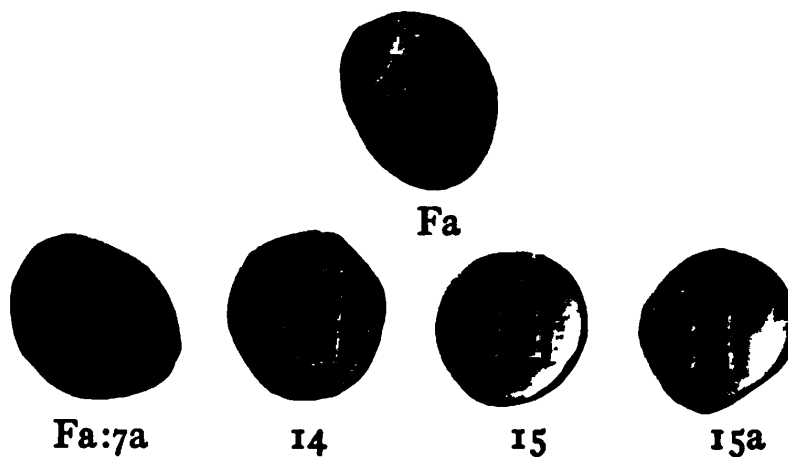
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CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE III



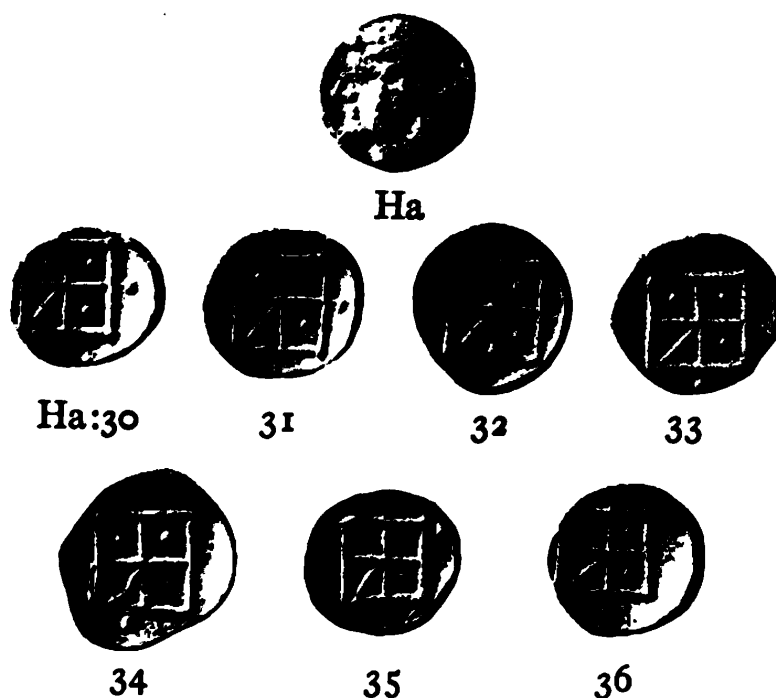
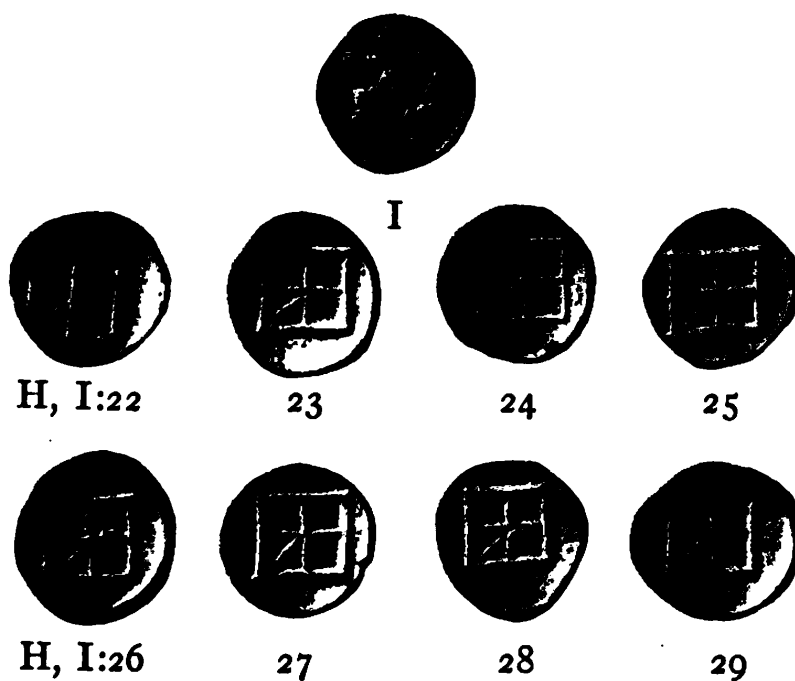
CYDONIA



Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in four lines, with the first line being the most legible, appearing to read "The first of the". The subsequent lines are increasingly faint and difficult to decipher.

CRETAN HOARD

PLATE IV



CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE V



I



Ha,I:37



Ha,I:38



Ha



Ha,J:39



J



J



J



40



41



42



K



L



K,L:43



K,L:44



K,L:45



K,L:45 a



L:46



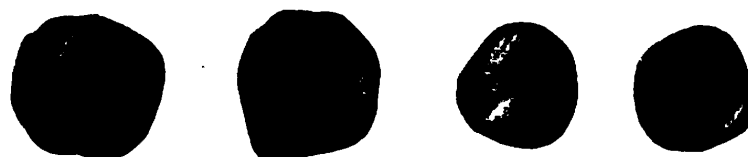
K:47

CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

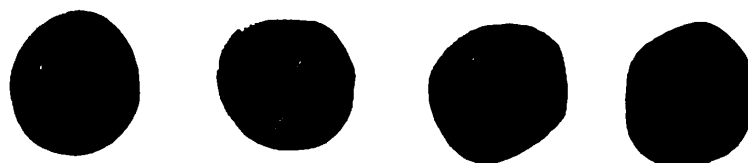
PLATE VI



M:48

N:49

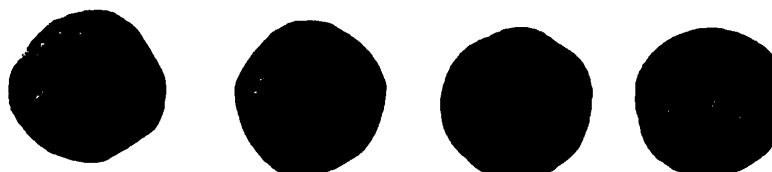
UNCERTAIN



M:50

O:51

CYDONIA



P:52

O:53

TANOS



O:54

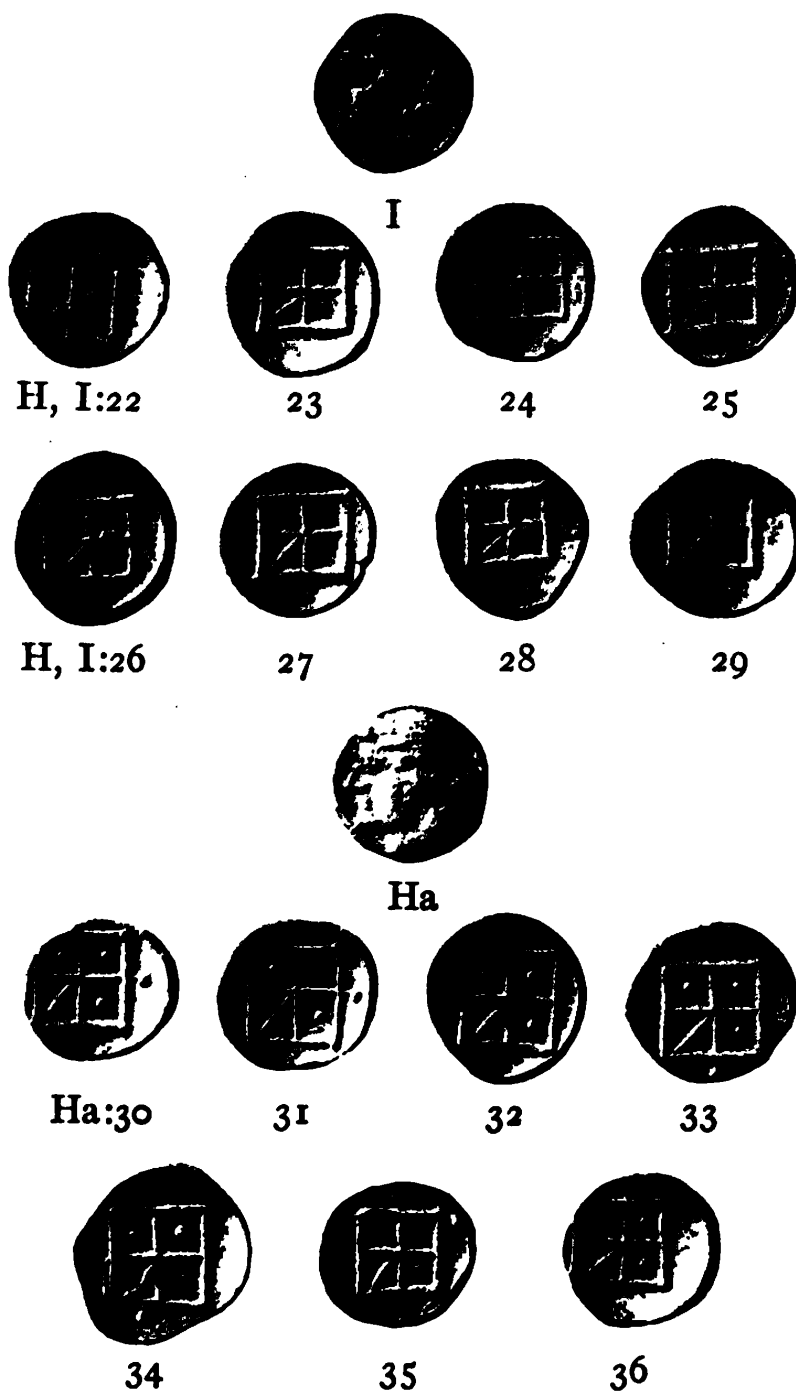
O:55

UNCERTAIN

Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several lines and appears to be a list or a series of notes, though the characters are difficult to decipher due to the quality of the scan and the nature of the bleed-through.

CRETAN HOARD

PLATE IV



CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE V



I



Ha,I:37



Ha,I:38



Ha



Ha,J:39



J



J



J



40



41



42



K



L



K,L:43



K,L:44



K,L:45



K,L:45 a



L:46



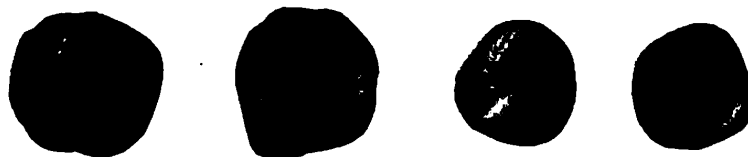
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CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

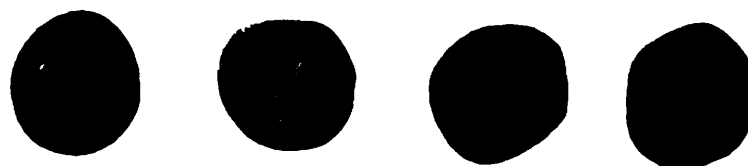
PLATE VI



M:48

N:49

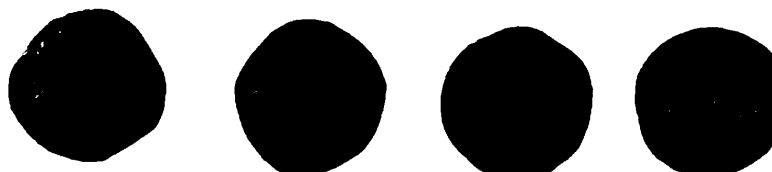
UNCERTAIN



M:50

O:51

CYDONIA



P:52

O:53

TANOS



O:54

O:55

UNCERTAIN

CRETAN HOARD

PLATE VII

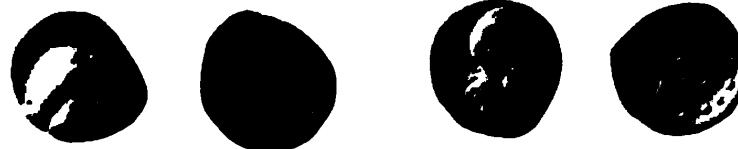


Q:53
TANOS



Q:56

Q:57



R:56

R:58



S:59

S:60

UNCERTAIN



T:6I

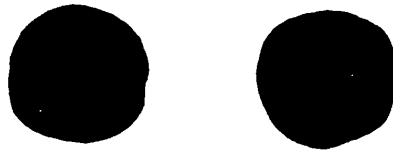
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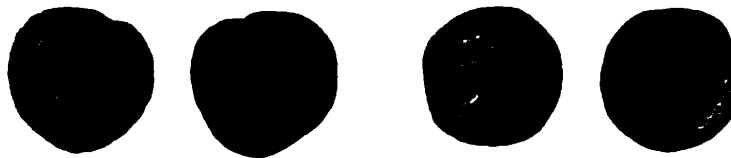


CRETAN HOARD

PLATE VII



Q:53
TANOS



Q:56

Q:57



R:56

R:58



S:59

S:60

UNCERTAIN



T:61

U:61

CYDONIA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE VIII



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CRETAN HOARD

PLATE IX



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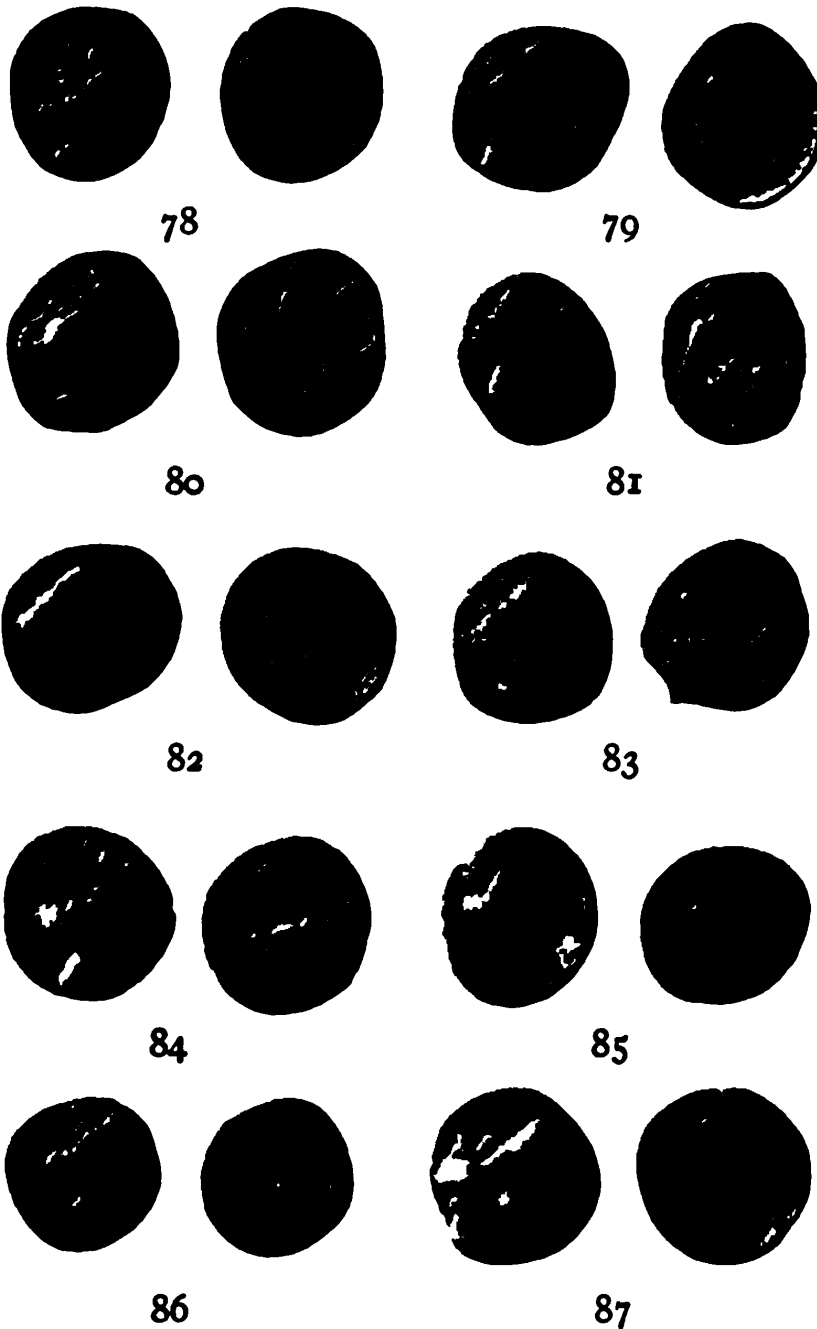


81



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE X



HISTIAEA



CRETAN HOARD

PLATE XI



88



89



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91



92



93



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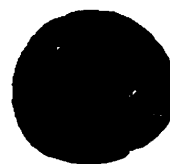
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96



97



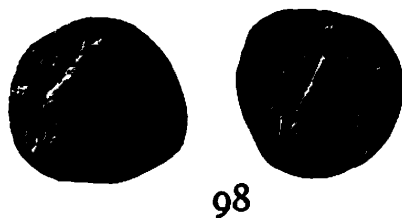
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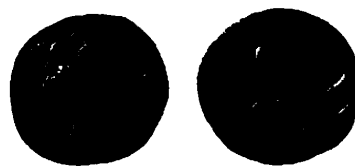
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CRETAN HOARD

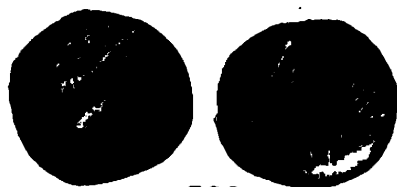
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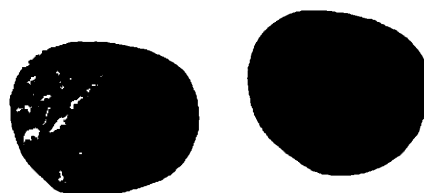
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99



100



101



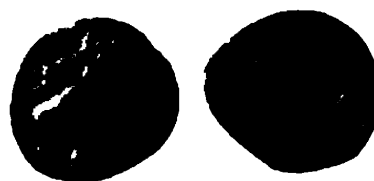
102



103



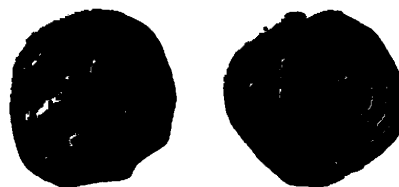
104



105



106



107

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2. Edward T. Newell. Octobols of Histiaea. 1921. 25 pages. 2 plates. 50c.
3. Edward T. Newell. Alexander Hoards—Introduction and Kyparissia Hoard. 1921. 21 pages. 2 plates. 50c.
4. Howland Wood. The Mexican Revolutionary Coinage 1913-1916. 1921. 44 pages. 26 plates. \$2.00.
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7. Sydney P. Noe. Medallic Work of A. A. Weisman. 1921. 31 pages. 17 plates. \$1.00.
8. Gilbert S. Perez. The Mint of the Philippine Islands. 1921. 8 pages. 4 plates. 50c.
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10. Edward T. Newell. The First Seleucid Coinage of Tyre. 1921. 40 pages. 8 plates. \$1.00.
11. Harrold E. Gillingham. French Orders and Decorations. 1922. 110 pages. 35 plates. \$2.00.

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13. R. B. Whitehead. Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of N. W. India. 1922. 56 pages. 15 plates. \$2.00.
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15. M. P. Vlasto. Taras Oikistes (A Contribution to Tarentine Numismatics). 1922. 234 pages. 13 plates. \$3.50.
16. Howland Wood. Commemorative Coinage of United States. 1922. 63 pages. 7 plates. \$1.50.
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19. Edward T. Newell. Alexander Hoards—II. Demanhur Hoard. 1923. 162 pages. 8 plates. \$2.50.
20. Harrold E. Gillingham. Italian Orders of Chivalry and Medals of Honour. 1923. 146 pages. 34 plates. \$2.00.
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